

THE
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TO THE POLITICAL READER.

OUR political friends will find in the present number an article illustrating further the policy of Great Britain, as developed by the conduct of her agents in Central America.

In another article we have given a general view of her commercial policy, explaining, in very simple language, and by popular illustrations, some things supposed to be peculiarly dark and difficult.

Our developments of British arrogance and assumption have excited a violent jealousy in the minds of some persons, as we discover by the vituperations of a certain, or rather uncertain, portion of the public press. We can only say that we shall suffer no opportunity to escape us of laying correct information before our readers, not only of the public proceedings, but of public insults and contempts politically cast upon us by the present British Ministry, misnamed "Whig," and their agents, employed or volunteer.

The present Ministry of Great Britain is playing a very interesting part in the great game of "Who is the strongest?" with all the powers of the earth. Political writers seem to be in doubt which of the five powers, Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, or England, ought to be considered the strongest; that is to say, the most dangerous to the rest of the world. On our side of the Atlantic, no question, Great Britain is the most important and conspicuous power, not only because of her immediate influence here, and her proximity, but because she is

hitherto our superior in the trade of nations, and in the home production which maintains that trade.

She has succeeded, through her literary and political influence on this continent, in breaking down our system of independent industry, to the incalculable advantage of her own home industry, both agricultural and mechanical. Her importance to the Southern States, as a buyer of cotton, has given her an almost absolute control over those States, who look to her, in the event of a dissolution of the Union, as their sole friend among the nations. That she has encouraged in every way the contemplated movement in the South, we have good evidence. In place, however, of documentary proofs, we will suggest to our readers a few political considerations, such as may be supposed to actuate a far-sighted British Ministry in the adoption of an imperial policy for a long course of years.

1. The *immediate* effect of a dissolution would be a temporary suspension of intercourse between the Southern and Northern States. Great Britain would make her own terms with the latter, take their cottons, and send her manufactures to Charleston in exchange—a proceeding liable to some slight interruptions, however, by the navies of the North, whose amiable feelings towards Great Britain would not be increased by her officious interference in a "brothers' quarrel."

2. War gradually growing up between the North and South, there would follow, during the first year of our misery, slave insurrections and stampedes, interrupting the production of cotton. In the course of a year or two the South would be very generally in a state of confusion, and the negro business would become quite unmanageable. The experience of Great Britain is large in that species of calamity. It would be a state of things very favorable to the plans of universal abolition, which make an essential member of the great free trade system.

3. The Northern States, driven to despair by the desertion of the South, and the interruption of their own industry, would be exasperated more and more. Every negro who set foot beyond Mason and Dixon's line, would then, of necessity, be protected by the entire military power of the North.

4. Cotton would, of course, rise to an exorbitant price, but Great Britain would be only temporarily injured by that rise, as she would have the monopoly of the manufacture and of the trade, and could demand a compensating price for cotton cloths.

5. The permanent rise of value in cotton would immediately make possible the cultivation of cotton by free labor, or by labor supposed to be free, upon soil comprehended under the British Empire, the soil of Mosquito, and of other parts said to be of the British Empire, and of India and the West Indies. The cultivation of cotton by free labor on British soil, is at present kept down by American competition. In the event of a dissolution, and consequent destruction of the slave system in the Southern States, Great Britain would be able to use cotton cultivated by her own serfs, parias, free negroes, coolies, and paupers.

Instead of giving up the Canadas, England is expending some four millions sterling annually upon them, and proposes to spend more in internal improvements. In the event of a dissolution, and consequent destruction of the slave power, and a tempo-

rary suspension of Northern industry, the Canadas must rise into importance.

Instead of withdrawing from this Continent, and directing her attention upon her own internal affairs, Great Britain is engaged in *seizing*, by force and fraud, every foot of territory not under our own *immediate* protection in the region south of Mexico and bordering upon that feeble State. In the event of dissolution, and the expected destruction of the slave system, and of the American cotton manufacture, she will need all the available territory in the world for the cultivation of cotton upon a basis of her own, which cannot be put into practice until the slave power is destroyed.

Nothing is too large for the conception of the present managers of the British Empire, and nothing is too remote from truth to be used by their defenders as a mask for their policy. The British Empire never grew more rapidly, or by more unscrupulous acquisitions, than during the present age.

Our Southern friends will not suppose, from the direct and naked style of the above representation, that we have faith in the *ability* of Great Britain to carry out her plan of grand monopoly; all that we ask of them is to take an accurate survey of British proceedings, and then determine for themselves whether all that she has done, and is doing through her present Ministry, does not place her in the attitude not only of a competitor in the world's markets, but of an active and dangerous rival, using every means in her power to break up and change the present system of this continent. If the Union stands, and the American system is carried out, with the necessary addition of vindicating the honor and influence of the Republic on this continent, we stand the equal of Great Britain; if we suffer her political managers not only to sow dissension among ourselves, but, in mere contempt of us, and in anticipation of our ruin, to seize, without remorse, the territory of our republican neighbors, we remain her justly despised inferior and servant.

THE GREAT SHIP CANAL QUESTION.

ENGLAND AND COSTA RICA *versus* THE UNITED STATES AND NICARAGUA.

RECENT events have directed public attention, in a marked manner, towards the central parts of the American continent. The acquisition of California by the United States, the extraordinary mineral wealth which has been discovered there, and the still more extraordinary emigration which has taken place in consequence, and which has already raised California from a little known and sparsely populated province, to be a powerful and rapidly growing State of the Confederacy, have given an immediate importance to the long talked-of project of opening a ship-canal between the two oceans. And it is now very well understood that the preliminary steps to this great enterprise have been taken by a Company of citizens of the United States, styled the "American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company." The only feasible route for a work of the kind proposed, it is generally if not universally conceded, is that *via* the river San Juan and Lake Nicaragua, to the Pacific Ocean. This Company has secured a grant or charter from the Government of Nicaragua, the only power competent to bestow it, for the construction of the work, upon certain conditions, which are very well known, and to which it is unnecessary to refer, further than to say that the term is for 85 years from the completion of the work. When it is known that not less than fourteen or fifteen contracts had previously been entered into for the same work, all of which had been forfeited for non-compliance with their conditions, it can readily be understood that the Nicaraguan Government would not entertain any propositions for a new arrangement, except under circumstances calculated to inspire confidence in the parties applying, and under strong collateral assurances of their good faith and ability. It was not therefore, until an American Minister was sent to Central America, invested with

plenary powers to treat, on behalf of the United States, with the several Republics of that country, Nicaragua included, and specially authorized to extend the guarantees of his Government to any charter of a proper character, which any Company of American citizens might secure, for the construction of the proposed work,—it was not until then, that the Government of Nicaragua felt itself justified in re-opening the matter. Under these circumstances, however, it granted a charter more liberal than any before conceded, and which is the one to which we have alluded.

There seems to exist some misapprehension in the public mind of America, and much in that of England, as to the motives which actuated the American Government in taking so active an interest in the matter of the proposed canal. Some persons, through unpardonable ignorance or evil disposition, have even gone so far as to say that our Minister was not authorized in committing the United States, in any manner, in respect to the undertaking. The instructions under which that gentleman acted have however recently been published, in answer to a call of Congress, and so fully vindicate the high principles and motives which governed the Administration of Gen. Taylor, in its relations with this contemplated work, and so completely exonerate the gentleman upon whom was devolved the duty of carrying them into effect, that we cannot do better than to copy a few passages from them, relating to this specific point.

After reviewing in an able and unanswerable manner the British pretensions on the Mosquito shore, and the encroachments on the territories of Nicaragua forcibly effected under them, Mr. Clayton proceeds to say :—

"Against the aggressions on her territories, Nicaragua has firmly struggled and protested

without ceasing; and the feeling of her people may be judged from the impassioned language of the proclamation of her Supreme Director, of the 12th of Nov., 1847. 'The moment,' says he, 'has arrived for losing a country with ignominy, or for sacrificing with honor the dearest treasures to sustain it. As regards myself, if the power which menaces sets aside justice, I am firmly resolved to be entombed in the ruins of Nicaragua, rather than survive her ruin.' The eloquent appeal of the Minister of Nicaragua to this Government, is evidence not less striking and impressive of the disposition of an injured people to resist what they believe to be injustice and oppression. Will other nations interested in a free passage to and from the Pacific, by the river San Juan and Lake Nicaragua, tamely allow that interest to be thwarted by the pretensions of Great Britain? As regards the United States, the question may be confidently answered in the negative.

"Having now," continues the Secretary of State, "sufficiently apprised you of the views of the Department in regard to the title to the Mosquito Coast, I desire you to understand how important it is deemed by the President, so to conduct all our negotiations on the subject of the Nicaraguan passage as not to involve this country in any entangling alliances on the one hand, or any unnecessary controversy on the other. We desire no monopoly of the right of way for our commerce, and we cannot submit to it if claimed for that of any other nation. If we held and enjoyed such a monopoly, it would entail upon us more bloody and expensive wars than the struggle for Gibraltar has caused to England and Spain. The same calamity would infallibly be cast upon any other nation claiming to exclude the commerce of the rest of the world. We only ask an equal right of passage for all nations on the same terms—a passage unincumbered by oppressive restrictions, either from the local Government within whose sovereign limits it may be effected, or from the proprietors of the canal when accomplished. To this end we are willing to enter into treaty stipulations with the Government of Nicaragua, that both Governments shall protect and defend the proprietors who may succeed in cutting the canal and opening water communication between the two oceans for our commerce. Without such protection it is not believed this great enterprise would ever be successful. Nicaragua is a feeble State, and capitalists, proverbially a timid race, may apprehend from the rapacity of great maritime powers the obstruction and even the seizure of the canal. Similar apprehensions on their part, from revolutions in the local government, from the oppressions and exactions of temporary chieftains, and from causes not necessary to be explained, may operate to retard a work in regard to which it may be safely predicated, that, when successfully accomplished, its benefits to mankind will transcend those of any similar work known in the history of the world. All these apprehensions may and will be removed by the solemn pledge of protection given by the United States, and especially when it is known that our object in giving it is not to acquire for ourselves any exclusive or partial advantages over other nations. Nicaragua will be at liberty to enter into the same treaty

stipulations with any other nation that may claim to enjoy the same benefits, and will agree to be bound by the same conditions. In desiring that our citizens may obtain the charter or grant of the right to make the canal, we do not mean to be misunderstood. Our purpose in aiding American citizens to obtain the grant is to encourage them in a laudable effort; relying as their own Government does, more on their skill and enterprise than on that of others. If they themselves prefer to unite with their own the capital of foreigners, who may desire to embark in the undertaking, this Government will not object to that. We should naturally be proud of such an achievement as an American work; but if European aid be necessary to accomplish it, why should we repudiate it, seeing that our object is as honest as it is openly avowed, to claim no peculiar privileges, no exclusive right, no monopoly of commercial intercourse, but to see that the work is dedicated to the benefit of mankind, to be used by all on the same terms with us, and consecrated to the enjoyment and diffusion of the unnumbered and inestimable blessings which must flow from it to all the civilized world. You will not want arguments to induce Nicaragua to enter into such a treaty with us. The canal will be productive of more benefit to her than any other country of the same limits. With the aid of the treaty it may—without such protection from some power equal to our own it cannot—be accomplished. Let your negotiations with her be frank, open, and unreserved as to all of our purposes.

"The same reasons for our interference must be avowed to the capitalists who engage in the work. Before you treat for their protection, look well to their contract with Nicaragua. See that it is not assignable to others; that no exclusive privileges are granted to any nation that shall agree to the same treaty stipulations with Nicaragua; that the tolls to be demanded by the owners are not unreasonable or oppressive; that no power be reserved to the proprietors of the canal or their successors to extort at any time henceforth, or unjustly to obstruct or embarrass the right of passage. This will require all your vigilance and skill. If they do not agree to grant us passage on reasonable and proper terms, refuse our protection and countenance to procure the contract from Nicaragua. If a charter or grant of the right of way shall have been incautiously or inconsiderately made, before your arrival in the country, seek to have it properly modified to answer the ends we have in view."

Such were the principles and motives which induced and regulated the interference of the United States in respect to the proposed canal, and Mr. Squier, in his negotiations, followed the letter and spirit of his instructions, so far as it was possible to reduce them to practice. Upon this point the treaty arranged by him with the Nicaraguan Government, and which now awaits the action of the United States Senate, is the best evidence. The following article embraces the essential points of the treaty. It will be observed that it secures for the United

States every desirable privilege in her intercourse, commercial or otherwise, with Nicaragua, and opens the way to intimate and profitable relations with that important region. And yet the privileges secured to the United States are in no wise exclusive; they will accrue to every other nation upon precisely the same conditions; conditions to which no nation except England can possibly object, and she only in the event of insisting upon her preposterous pretensions on what is called the Mosquito shore.

"ARTICLE XXXV.

"It is and has been stipulated, by and between the high contracting parties—

"1st. That the citizens, vessels, and merchandise of the United States shall enjoy in all the ports and harbors of Nicaragua, upon both oceans, a total exemption from all port-charges, tonnage or anchorage duties, or any other similar charges now existing, or which may hereafter be established, in manner the same as if said ports had been declared Free Ports. And it is further stipulated that the right of way or transit across the territories of Nicaragua, by any route or upon any mode of communication at present existing, or which may hereafter be constructed, shall at all times be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States, for all lawful purposes whatever; and no tolls, duties, or charges of any kind shall be imposed upon the transit in whole or part, by such modes of communication, of vessels of war, or other property belonging to the Government of the United States, or on public mails sent under the authority of the same, or upon persons in its employ, nor upon citizens of the United States, nor upon vessels belonging to them. And it is also stipulated that all lawful produce, manufactures, merchandise, or other property belonging to citizens of the United States, passing from one ocean to the other, in either direction, for the purpose of exportation to foreign countries, shall not be subject to any import or export duties whatever; or if citizens of the United States, having introduced such produce, manufactures or merchandise into the State of Nicaragua for sale or exchange, shall, within three years thereafter, determine to export the same, they shall be entitled to drawback equal to four fifths of the amount of duties paid upon their importation.

"2d. And inasmuch as a contract was entered into on the twenty-seventh day of August, 1849, between the Republic of Nicaragua and a company of citizens of the United States, styled the 'American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company,' and in order to secure the construction and permanence of the great work thereby contemplated, both high contracting parties do severally and jointly agree to protect and defend the above-named Company, in the full and perfect enjoyment of said work, from its inception to its completion, and after its completion, from any acts of invasion, forfeiture, or violence, from

whatever quarter the same may proceed; and to give full effect to the stipulations here made, and to secure for the benefit of mankind the uninterrupted advantages of such communication from sea to sea, the United States distinctly recognizes the rights of sovereignty and property which the State of Nicaragua possesses in and over the line of said canal, and for the same reason guarantees, positively and efficaciously, the entire neutrality of the same, so long as it shall remain under the control of citizens of the United States, and so long as the United States shall enjoy the privileges secured to them in the preceding section of this article.

"3d. But if, by any contingency, the above-named 'American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company' shall fail to comply with the terms of their contract with the State of Nicaragua, all the rights and privileges which said contract confers shall accrue to any company of citizens of the United States which shall, within one year after the official declaration of failure, undertake to comply with its provisions, so far as the same may at that time be applicable, provided the company thus assuming said contract shall first present to the President and Secretary of State of the United States satisfactory assurances of their intention and ability to comply with the same; of which satisfactory assurances the signature of the Secretary of State and the seal of the Department shall be complete evidence.

"4th. And it is also agreed, on the part of the Republic of Nicaragua, that none of the rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed, and by the preceding articles, but especially by the first section of this article, conceded to the United States and its citizens, shall accrue to any other nation, or to its citizens, except such nation shall first enter into the same treaty stipulations for the defense and protection of the proposed great inter-oceanic canal which have been entered into by the United States, in terms the same with those embraced in section 2d of this article."

To understand fully the provisions and effects of this article, some portions of the contract to which it refers, and on which it is, to some degree, dependent, must be taken in view. In accordance with his instructions, Mr. Squier procured the insertion in the contract of the following articles:—

"ARTICLE XXXVI.

"It is expressly stipulated that the citizens, vessels, products, and manufactures of all nations shall be permitted to pass upon the proposed canal through the territories of Nicaragua, subject to no other nor higher duties, charges, or taxes than shall be imposed upon those of the United States; *provided always*, that such nations shall first enter into the same treaty stipulations and guarantees, respecting said canal, as may be entered into between the State of Nicaragua and the United States.

"ARTICLE XXXVII.

"It is finally stipulated that this contract, and the rights and privileges which it confers, shall

be held inalienably by the company herein named, and that it shall never, in whole or part, be transferred or assigned to any other company, nor become dependent upon or connected with any other company, whatever may be the objects of the same."

In respect to the rate of tolls, it was provided in Article XVIII. that "they shall be fixed at the lowest possible rate consistently with the interests of the State and Company," and that they shall not be changed at any time, except with six months' previous notice, both in Nicaragua and all the principal sea-ports of the United States.

"These provisions," says Mr. Squier, in his Despatch No. 4, published among the documents before us, "include all the suggestions made by the Department, with a single exception, viz., the specific determination of the rates of toll or transit. This I found impracticable, for reasons which must, I think, be conclusive. In the first place, no work at all corresponding either in extent or character with the proposed canal exists in the world, which might serve as a basis to proceed upon. Secondly, *the cost* of the work must be an important consideration in fixing these rates; and this without a careful survey must be a matter upon which no reflecting man would venture even a conjecture. Besides, whether the rates should be on tonnage or otherwise, is a matter which cannot now be determined. The commissioners of the Company and the Government were alike in utter ignorance of what these rates would or ought to be, and of the basis upon which they should be calculated. Under these circumstances I thought it best to leave the matter entirely open."

To these preliminary facts, which are necessary to a proper understanding and appreciation of what is to follow, we shall only add the following paragraph, from the Despatch of Mr. Squier just referred to, in relation to the guarantee extended to the canal by the provisions of his treaty:—

"The Government was at first extremely anxious that this guarantee should be extended over the entire territory of the State; but to this I replied, that such a step would be in contravention of the settled policy of the United States; that the protection extended to the Canal Company was a departure from this policy only warranted by the admitted fact, that without such intervention, a work of immense importance not only to our own interests, but to those of the whole world, could not be constructed; and that,

although we sympathized deeply with the Republic, and were willing to exert ourselves in all proper ways to preserve her integrity, sustain her rights, and promote her interests, yet we could not take a step which, if adopted as a precedent, would be sure to involve us in inextricable difficulties. That the exclusion of foreign influences from the affairs of this continent could be better effected by the promotion of trade and commerce, the cultivation of friendly relations, and the growth of confidence between the several nations grouped upon it, than by a resort to the system of alliances, protections, and counter-alliances which had made Europe the theatre of dark intrigues and devastating wars. Whether convinced by my arguments or otherwise, the Government came early into my views, with a good grace, and the terms of the treaty were arranged accordingly."

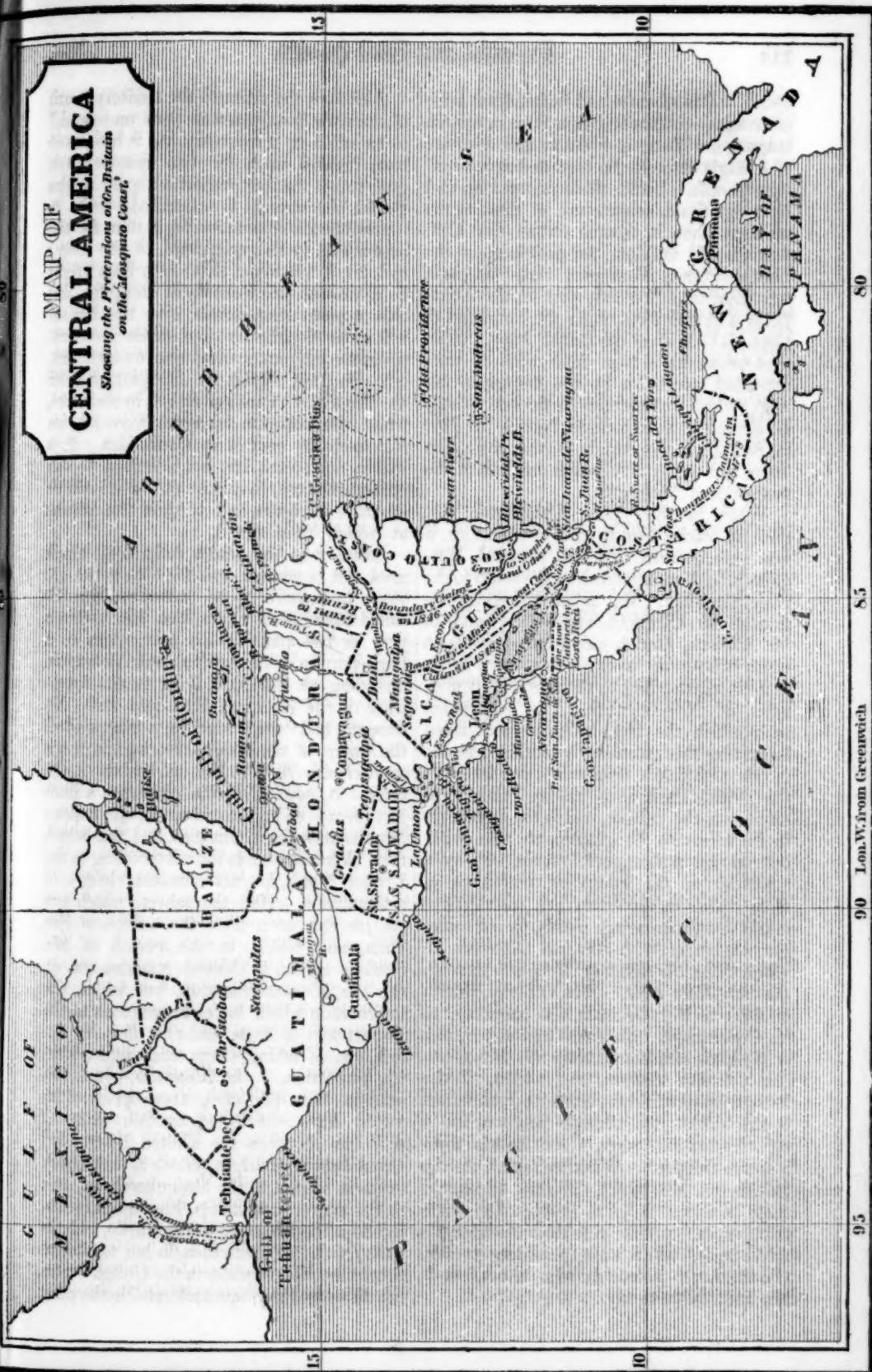
The policy adopted by Gen. Taylor's Administration, in respect to the proposed canal, needs no vindication beyond that which is furnished by the facts and proceedings which we have thus briefly presented. We come now to a consideration of other collateral matters connected with this great enterprise.

The question of the territorial limits of Nicaragua is no longer one of exclusively local interest, inasmuch as it connects itself with the subject of inter-oceanic communication, and is consequently involved in the relations which have been established between that Republic and the United States. Until within a few years no one had the hardihood to dispute the sovereignty of the Republic of Nicaragua over the territories embraced in the province of that name, under the Spanish rule, nor to call in question her right to make such disposition of those territories as suited her own interests or inclination. She occupied the whole of the isthmus from one sea to the other, extended her laws over the ports on either ocean, made contracts and disposed of lands,—in short, exercised all the rights of sovereignty and property, without opposition or dispute.

No sooner however did the increasing commerce of the Pacific direct attention more particularly than before to the subject, and the importance of improved means of communication across the central parts of the continent became more apparent,—no sooner, in fact, did the matter begin to assume a practical aspect, than the world was astonished by pretensions set up to a large and most important portion of the territories of Nicaragua, on the part of Great Britain, as the self-constituted "pro-

MAP OF CENTRAL AMERICA

Showing the Projections of Ten British
on the Mosquito Coast



90 85 80

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Lon. W. from Greenwich

tector" of an obscure and insignificant tribe of savages,—without religion, laws, or written language, without civilization, and destitute of a single claim to be regarded as a sovereign people. Under these pretensions, and by a significant conjuncture of time, at the moment when it became certain that California would fall into the possession of the United States, Nicaragua, early in 1848, was deprived of her only port on the Atlantic by a British force under the command of Capt. G. C. Loch of the British Navy. These pretensions have been from time to time extended, as shown by the accompanying map, (which we republish for the sake of easy reference,) so as to include, besides the port of San Juan, two thirds of the river San Juan, and nearly if not quite one half of the territories of Nicaragua.

When in 1847 Lord Palmerston first gave an official form to these pretensions, it was only claimed that the so-called Mosquito Kingdom, extended, on the south to the river San Juan. But upon the representations of Mr. Chatfield, and subsequently of Mr. Christy, British peripatetic agents, a claim was set up to the whole coast below that river, extending to the northern boundaries of New-Grenada. The suggestion upon which the British Government acted in making this extension is contained in one of Mr. Chatfield's despatches, published by the British Parliament among other documents on the subject, and is too significant in its terms to be allowed to pass without special notice. "*Moreover,*" he says, "*looking to the PROBABLE DESTINIES of these countries, CONSIDERABLE ADVANTAGES might accrue IN AFTER TIMES, by reserving for settlement with Central America in Costa Rica, the rights of Mosquito BEYOND the San Juan river.*" Mr. O'Leary, British Minister to New-Grenada, also suggested to his Government "*the extent and importance of the coast situated between the San Juan and Chiriqui Lagoon,*" and added, "*If the Mosquitian pretensions could be maintained to this extent, the Chiriqui Lagoon, which affords good anchorage, would likewise form a secure frontier.*" Whether regard for the British or Mosquitian marine prompted these allusions to good harbors and "safe anchorages," or what were the "considerable advantages," which were, according to Mr. Chatfield, "*to accrue in after times,*" it is not undertaken to say.

Although the claim to the territory south of the river San Juan was "put on record," to be called up if necessary, yet it has never been insisted upon for two reasons: 1st, (and this is the least important, so far as the British Government is concerned,) there is, if possible, less foundation for it than for the pretensions to the northward of the river; and, 2d, it was found that Costa Rica might be controlled just as easily as Mosquito, and that a *quasi* protectorate over the former was quite as effective and much more respectable than an avowed one over the latter. So the "*rights of Mosquito beyond the San Juan*" were quietly put in abeyance, while the requisite intrigues were set on foot to obtain control in Costa Rica. It is within our power, but not necessary to our present purpose, to expose the whole course of these intrigues, and to show the results at which they aimed.

Suffice it to say, under influences which need not be named, and for objects too obvious to require to be indicated, the so-called Republic of Costa Rica has within a year or two put forward pretensions to a large portion of the territories of Nicaragua, including all that part lying to the southward of the river San Juan and Lake Nicaragua, and comprehending a large part of the waters of the lake, as also a joint, if not an exclusive right to the navigation of the river. A portion of this claim has a basis just broad enough to admit of discussion; but the most important part, and that which from circumstances is most interesting to the United States, has not even the shadow of a foundation. Had the scheme which was set on foot soon after the seizure of San Juan, and which at the period of Mr. Squier's arrival in Central America was on the eve of consummation, but which the information which he communicated to the Department of State had the effect to defeat, viz., of taking Costa Rica under British protection, *a la Mosquito*,—had this scheme been perfected, these pretensions would have constituted another cause of difference between the United States and Great Britain, nearly as serious as that which exists in respect to the Mosquito shore. But as the matter now stands, England appears, to adopt the language of the duello, only as "*the friend*" of Costa Rica, in her territorial squabbles. Her Minister in the United States has disavowed any "protectorate" in the case,

but he insists on the validity of the Costa Rican pretensions, and is very pertinacious that the United States should concur with Great Britain in placing the disputed port of San Juan under Costa Rican sovereignty. Now Costa Rica never pretended to sovereignty over San Juan, while England has all along stoutly maintained that it belonged incontrovertibly to Mosquito! The explanation of all this is probably to be found in the fact, that Costa Rica has granted to a British company a charter for a canal from San Juan, via the river San Juan and Lake Nicaragua, to the Pacific! This contract is now brought forward in England under the especial patronage of the British Government, in opposition to that negotiated by the American Company, and to which we have already alluded. Its provisions have not been made public; but the English press, following the lead of the Government, have come forward in its support, and to the disparagement of the American Company. The *Times*, *Post*, *News*, *Chronicle*, *Colonial Magazine*, etc., not to mention a number of pamphlets on the subject, have given up to it a considerable share of their respective pages; and as these supporters represent every shade of party, their concurrence is worthy of remark, and indicates a prospective spirited controversy between the American and British Companies for the favor of capitalists. It may be that this rivalry will terminate in a consolidation of interests, which would clearly be the most sensible thing the parties could decide upon. But if the work is built, it matters little whether it is by one company or another, so that it is made, as it should be, free to the world, and placed under the guarantee of all nations. Not even our national sympathies incline us to favor particularly either set of speculators. We have only to deal with the question of territorial rights, as between Nicaragua and Costa Rica,—a question which has been raised by the British Government in its *quasi* protectorate over the latter State, by its Minister here, and by the public press of England. In all their discussions of the question of the canal, the territorial rights of Nicaragua have been rudely denied, and the conduct of the United States, in its qualified recognition of them, abundantly vilified, but, as we shall conclusively show, without the slightest reason. In what we may say, in presenting this territorial question in its

true light, we shall leave out of view the Mosquito pretensions, which are alike wicked and absurd, and which can only be sustained by the most unblushing mendacity.

The *London Daily News* of the 28th of September, in an article on this subject, says:—

"It is well known that certain American citizens had obtained from the State of Nicaragua a contract for the construction of a water communication between the two oceans, the American press having, about this time last year, been actively agitated on their behalf; but it was not so generally made public that the neighboring State of Costa Rica had likewise conceded rights and privileges for that purpose to British subjects. The claims of the latter, although not so clamorously urged, were not the less entitled to just consideration, and more especially so on the part of the British Government."

In a pamphlet entitled, "*State of the Great Ship Canal Question*," we find also the following paragraph:—

"The territory of Nicaragua and Costa Rica embraces, with Mosquito, the ground which is open to be traversed by a ship canal; Nicaragua, as reaching to the Gulf of Fonseca on the north, and as possessing the harbors of Realejo and San Juan del Sur in the Pacific, as well as including in its territory the Lake of Managua; further, likewise, as possessing the northern bank of the Lake of Nicaragua, as also that of the river San Juan down to the Machuca Rapids; Costa Rica, as possessing the port of Salinas in the Pacific, and the southern banks of both the Lake of Nicaragua and the river San Juan to the sea; Mosquito, as possessing the northern bank of the San Juan from the Machuca Rapids to the port of that river, now designated Grey Town. It is, therefore, obvious that Nicaragua cannot alone dispose of this channel of communication. * * * The State of Nicaragua has the pretension to grant a right of steam navigation to the New-York Company, in the river San Juan and Lake of Nicaragua, exclusive of all the world, for eighty-five years. It was not within the competency of Nicaragua to have given any such privilege," &c. &c.

Such is the British statement of the case. As we understand it, having been on the spot, and deriving our information from authentic sources, the issue, as between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, may be stated thus:

Costa Rica claims that her northern boundary extends from the mouth of the river San Juan, through that stream to Lake Nicaragua, and through the lake in a direct line to the mouth of the river Flor on the Pacific—including the large and populated district or department of Nicoya or Guanacaste.

Nicaragua, upon the other hand, asserts

that her southern boundaries are the river Salto de Nicoya or Alvarado, (emptying into the Gulf of Nicoya,) and a line extending thence direct to a point on the Atlantic, midway between the port of San Juan and that of Matina,—that is to say, about thirty-five miles south of the former port. She however has been willing, as a means of compromise, that the line should be determined as running to the lower mouth of the San Juan, i. e. about fifteen miles below the port. These limits include, of course, the department of Nicoya or Guanacaste.

Previously to the revolution of the Independence of Central America, all the States known under that designation were included in the Viceroyalty or kingdom of Guatemala. By the act of independence, it was understood that the various provinces, which corresponded very nearly to the colonies of our own country, became distinct and sovereign States. They so declared themselves in their fundamental laws, and as such they elected a national Constituent Assembly, and entered into a confederacy known as the "Republic of Central America."

Each one of the old provinces comprised large tracts of unsettled and unexplored country. And as, under the rule of the Viceroy, it was not essential that the boundaries should, in these parts, be accurately fixed, the provincial limits were, in some cases, very vaguely defined. It being possible, under these circumstances, that territorial disputes might arise, provision was made in Art. 7 of the Constitution of the new Republic, that the limits of the States should be fixed by a law of the General Congress. This provision was intended to authorize interference only when disputes might arise; the fundamental principle that each State comprised, and of right, all the territories which appertained to it as a province or colony, being in no degree impaired. It was a power conceded to the General Government, to be exercised for the common good, and only in cases of necessity.

To determine then the true boundaries of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, it is only necessary to ascertain their limits as provinces under the kingdom, and as fixed in their fundamental laws. Here we are without difficulty; for upon this point we have abundant evidence of a historical and other nature, which will admit of no dispute. Says Juar-

ros, the accredited historian of the old kingdom of Guatemala:—

"Costa Rica extends from the river Salto, which separates it from Nicaragua, to the district of Chiriqui, in the jurisdiction of Veraguas (New Grenada); and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Its limit on the Atlantic is from the mouth of the river San Juan to the little island called the *Escudo de Veraguas*, and on the Pacific, from the mouth of the river Alvarado, (i. e. Salto,) the boundary of the province of Nicaragua, to the river Boruca, which terminates the kingdom of Terra Firma," &c. (Ed. 1812, vol. i., p. 56.)

The river here called "*Salto*" is indiscriminately known as the "*Salto de Nicoya*," or "*Alvarado*," as is explained by the historian here quoted, (vol. i. p. 47,) and is the river which empties into the Gulf of Nicoya at its head, more than one hundred miles southward of Lake Nicaragua.

The same limits are again assigned to Costa Rica by Juarros, on page 202 of vol. ii., upon the authority of a royal cedula, which still exists, granted to Don Diego Ostieda Chirinos, the first Governor of Costa Rica. In defining the territory of Nicaragua, the same authority informs us that

"The Intendency of Nicaragua comprises five departments, viz.: Leon, which is most important, and Realejo, Subtiaba, Matagalpa, and Nicoya, which are *corregimientos*, and are under the jurisdiction of the Intendant of the Province, who has his deputies in each department." (Vol. i. p. 47.)

Nicoya, or as it is now sometimes called, Guanacaste, lies to the southward of Lake Nicaragua, between that and the Gulf of Nicoya, and is included in the Anglo-Costa Rican claim.

"This department," says Juarros, "is the most southern of the province of Nicaragua, and adjoins Costa Rica. It extends along the coast of the Pacific," &c. (Vol. i. p. 55.)

Aleedo, in his American Geographical Dictionary, published in 1788, says of the department of Nicoya:—

"It adjoins Costa Rica, and is bounded on the north by Lake Nicaragua, &c. It has an extensive coast, and is part of the province of Nicaragua, the Governor of which names its officers."

But it is useless to multiply evidence upon this point. That the department of Nicoya pertained to Nicaragua, and that the entire lake of Nicaragua and the river San Juan were included in that province and State, does not stand in need of proof. It was so understood and admitted by Costa Rica her-

self, in her primary Constitution of January 21, 1825, which, in Chapter II. Art. 15, declares :—

"The territory of the State extends from the river Salto (de Nicoya), which divides it from Nicaragua, to the river Chiriqui, bounding the Republic of Colombia. Its limits on the Atlantic are from the mouth of the river San Juan to the Escudo de Veragua; and on the Pacific, from the mouth of the river Alvarado (Salto) to that of Chiriqui (Boruca)."

The boundaries were also so defined in the Constitution of Nicaragua: indeed the question seems to have been perfectly understood upon both sides. Upon the independence, the department of Nicoya continued, of course, with Nicaragua, and sent delegates to her Constituent Assembly in 1825. Such continued to be the state of the matter, without dispute or difference upon either side, until a decree was issued by the Federal Congress on the 9th of December, 1826, as follows :—

"For the present, and until the boundaries of the several States shall be fixed, in accordance with Art. 7 of the Constitution, the department of Nicoya shall be separated from Nicaragua and attached to Costa Rica."

No such arbitrary act as this, even in its conditional form, was contemplated by the Article of the Constitution, under cover of which it was effected. The motives which dictated it were probably a jealousy of the power of Nicaragua on the part of the other States, as also a desire to give more importance to Costa Rica, then numbering not more than 50,000 inhabitants.

The State of Nicaragua, while obeying the decree, nevertheless energetically remonstrated against it, demanding its revocation, and setting forth not only the right which the State possessed to the territory in question, but also the injustice of the separation to the only parties properly interested. The inhabitants of the district joined in the remonstrance, protesting against the annexation even as a temporary measure, and even went to the length of refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Costa Rica, on the ground that the decree was provisional, and unconstitutional. The Government of Costa Rica itself, on the same grounds, prohibited its officers from selling the public lands of the department, lest injury should result to the purchasers upon its devolution to Nicaragua.

The Federal Congress never proceeded

to define the limits of the States, and in 1838 the Republic was dissolved, both Costa Rica and Nicaragua assenting to the dissolution. Up to that time, Nicoya had remained attached to Costa Rica, in virtue of the provisional decree of the Congress, it being well understood, however, upon all sides, that the aggregation was temporary.

The whole question, so far as this department is concerned, might be closed here. By the dissolution of the Republic, the rights, territorial as all others, of the several States reverted to them again in their sovereign capacity. None of the *provisional acts* of the Federal Congress could be longer binding; the temporary alienation of Nicoya ceased, and it reverted to its true proprietor, whose rights, at the most, had only been suspended. This is a sound and impregnable position for Nicaragua.

The following historical facts therefore, while they can in no degree affect the question of right here involved, are nevertheless essential to the proper understanding of the *present condition* of the relations of the two States in respect to territory, and of the *exterior influences* which have controlled Costa Rica in setting up new and absurd pretensions.

The Republic having ceased to exist, on the 30th of April, 1838, Nicaragua called a Convention for revising its Constitution, so as to make it conform to the new posture of affairs, and Costa Rica also proceeded to do the same. Pending the meeting of the Nicaragua Convention, a *projet* was published, by the 2d Art. of which the ancient limits of the State were re-established, including of course the department of Nicoya, in accordance with the desires of the inhabitants of the department themselves.

The *projet* having reached Costa Rica, the Government of that State at once sent a commissioner to Nicaragua, Don F. M. Oreamuno, for the purpose of obtaining a modification of the proposed Article, and for adjusting general limits. He proposed several means for effecting the latter object, and submitted a basis which, amongst other things, asked of Nicaragua the acknowledgment *ad perpetuam* of the annexation of the department of Nicoya to Costa Rica. Nicaragua refused the basis peremptorily, but in deference to the wishes of Costa Rica, added to the proposed Article the following clause :—

"The dividing line of the two States shall be fixed by a law, which shall constitute part of the Constitution."

This partial concession was made from motives of policy, and for the purpose of avoiding any immediate differences between the States, whose forces it was desired to unite in opposition to Gen. Morazan, then struggling with the aid of San Salvador to restore the Central Authority. It was nothing more than an expedient for getting rid, for the moment, of the only question which might embarrass the contemplated co-operation of the States in general affairs.

Meanwhile Morazan was driven out, and the distractions attending the event were such as to completely divert attention from the pending question of limits. Nicaragua became involved in a war with San Salvador and Honduras, and Costa Rica was racked by internal dissensions, which ended in the dictatorship of Carillo. Morazan, however, after a period of exile, returned with a few followers to Costa Rica, and deposed Carillo, being apparently sustained in the movement by the whole population of the State. This alarmed Nicaragua, with which that State had previously acted against Morazan, and which had waived the question of Nicoya for the sole purpose of securing the union against him. The Legislative Chambers of the State therefore, looking upon Costa Rica as recreant to her obligations, and no further motive existing to influence a reserve in the matter, enacted a law in conformity with the Article of the Constitution just quoted, and authorized the Executive to take possession of the department in dispute. But as Costa Rica soon after rose against Morazan, the cause of ill-feeling between the two States was removed, and the contemplated violent restoration of Nicoya was not carried into effect. Besides, Nicaragua now began to indulge hopes of effecting a consolidation of the States, and was as anxious as before to avoid any measures which might endanger the project by alienating Costa Rica. She accordingly, in 1843, sent a commissioner to Costa Rica, in order to effect an amicable arrangement; but as new influences were at work, his mission was without any result, beyond a proposition, on the part of Costa Rica, "to submit the question anew to the consideration of the Legislative bodies of the two States, with the object

that they should respectively designate the terms upon which it should be arranged."

Nothing further was done for some months, when correspondence on the subject was renewed by the two Governments, in a very conciliatory spirit, and the Costa Rican Constituent Assembly inserted in the Constitution of the State the following provision in respect to boundaries:—

"The boundaries between the State and Nicaragua shall be fixed definitely when Costa Rica shall be heard in the National Representation, or in default of that (i. e., the National Representation) the question shall be submitted to the judgment of one or more of the States of the Republic."

In the correspondence which at this time took place between the two States, in respect to the question, it is to be observed that Costa Rica based her right to retain Nicoya upon the ground that "it had received it as a *deposit* from the Federal Government, and that it could not yield possession of it, except at the order of the same authority, without compromising its responsibility as depositary." To this Nicaragua replied, that "Costa Rica equally with herself had asserted the dissolution of the Confederacy, and in virtue thereof had resumed her original rights as a sovereign and free State; that consequently Nicoya ought to revert to Nicaragua as an original and integral part of her territory, and especially as her rights could only be regarded as temporarily suspended by the Federal decree of 1825." It contended further, "that Costa Rica having received the deposit of Nicoya, her authority to hold it ceased with the powers of the depositor, and that knowing to whom it belonged, she was under every obligation to return it to its original and legitimate owner." It enforced its position by the parallel of a minor, who might clearly recover his estate upon arriving at lawful age, even in case of the disappearance of the administrator to whom it had been confided. These points were made with all proper force and fullness.

In the meantime movements towards a new confederation were made, in which Costa Rica interested herself, in common with Nicaragua. But, unfortunately, they were interrupted by new disputes, originating in the intrigues of certain foreign agents, whose malign influence had procured the overthrow of the Republic, and who had fomented many of the disorders which followed

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These agents were particularly active in Costa Rica, with what result will be seen in the sequel.

The question of Nicoya remained in *statu quo* pending the war between Nicaragua, Honduras, and San Salvador, in 1844-45. At its close, the entire *personelle*, and, it was supposed, the general policy of Nicaragua having changed, Costa Rica, deeming the opportunity favorable, sent a commissioner to Nicaragua to arrange, not only a treaty of commerce and general relations, but also a treaty of limits. Upon the part of Nicaragua two of its most eminent and moderate men, Messrs. Zavala and Pineda, were appointed to meet this commission. They met in the city of Masaya, on the 6th of December, 1846. The representative of Costa Rica adhered tenaciously to the pretensions of that State to Nicoya, but urged nothing in support of the claim except the decree of the Federal Congress. The question of limits beyond that department now, for the first time, came up, and was discussed. The results of the conferences of the commissioners were three treaties, or conventions, which were concluded on the 12th and 14th of the same month.

1. The first provided for the general relations of the States, and for the common defense. It also provided for sustaining Nicaragua in case its Atlantic coast should be attacked, (the Mosquito affair then, for the first time, assuming importance,) and contained certain stipulations looking towards the establishment of a general government.

2. The second provided for regulating the navigation of the river San Juan, through which Costa Rica found it more convenient to conduct its foreign trade than through its own ports. It stipulated that Costa Rica should be allowed to carry on her commerce through that river, by conforming to the laws of Nicaragua. It fixed the transit duties which her imports should pay at San Juan, and made other necessary collateral provisions. It also provided that Costa Rica might establish a provisional Customs Agency or Registry, at a point on the Serapiqui river called San Alfonso, between 20 and 30 miles above the confluence of that river with the San Juan—i. e., from 20 to 30 miles to the southward of the San Juan.

3. The third treaty was in respect to limits. As before said, the question of boundary through the uninhabited region between

Nicoya and the Atlantic now, for the first time, came up. That it was understood by the Costa Rican commissioners, that the right of Nicaragua to the territory along the San Juan, and at least 25 or 30 miles to the southward, was undisputed, is evident from the provisions of the former treaties, and from the fact that Costa Rica had always and without complaint paid the transit and other duties fixed by Nicaragua. But as the question of boundary could not be determined except by a settlement of the Nicoyan question, nothing definite transpired. The treaty provided "that the question of general boundary by the San Juan should remain undecided, until an arbitration should be effected;" and meantime either party might use the uninhabited district, for all useful purposes, without hindrance from the other, except for important reasons, upon giving the second party proper notice of its intention and purposes. In respect to Nicoya it was agreed that the question should be submitted to arbitrators, whose decision should be final. These arbitrators were to consist of the Government of Honduras on the part of Nicaragua, and Guatemala on the part of Costa Rica. The two might choose an impartial third, which might be, in their discretion, a foreign State. It also stipulated that the territory in question should never be alienated to any foreign power, and that if, after the award of the arbitrators, the State to which Nicoya might be declared to pertain should alienate any part of the same to any foreign power, it would thereby forfeit the possession of the district, in favor of the other party.

The Legislative Chambers of Nicaragua, with the good faith which has characterized all their relations with Costa Rica, and which has never been reciprocated by the latter State, at once ratified these treaties in due form. Nothing however was heard of the action of Costa Rica, and the Chambers, on the eve of adjournment, in a liberal spirit, passed a law extending the term fixed for the ratifications to six months, and inserted a provision in the act, authorizing the Government to accept any proper modifications which Costa Rica might propose. Nicaragua was anxious to arrange the differences with Costa Rica, even in this undecisive manner, for the reason that it had been drawn into a controversy with England in respect to the Mosquito shore, and wished to

be released from all other embarrassments in order to meet the question more directly. Costa Rica, however, which had now become the theatre of the intrigues of Mr. Chatfield, the British Consul General, *took no action whatever upon the treaty negotiated by its own fully empowered Commissioners*, notwithstanding the disposition evinced by Nicaragua to receive and favorably consider any modification which it might suggest. Already, there is reason to believe, inducements were held out to her, by parties which had no right to interfere in the matter, to prevent her from settling the points at issue with Nicaragua. The result will shortly be seen.

Soon after these events a Diet was convoked by several of the States to meet at Nacome in Honduras. This Diet was called with the concurrence of Costa Rica, and to this, it was previously understood, any disputes which might exist between any of the States should be referred for settlement. *No delegates, however, appeared from Costa Rica!* To the remonstrances of Nicaragua evasive answers were given, and it soon became obvious that the object of Costa Rica was only to gain time, in order to profit by the turn which the dispute between Nicaragua and Great Britain might take. Indeed, it is notorious that in this, as in most other matters, the Government of that State was wholly controlled by the British Consul General. By his intrigues the attempt to unite the several States upon a sounder basis than before, in which the most patriotic men of Central America had been laboring for years, was defeated. *A new Federation would have proved a formidable if not insurmountable obstacle to the success of British designs on the Mosquito shore.*

In less than six months after the events which we have recounted, a British force seized upon San Juan. That event took place upon the 17th of February, 1848, and one week thereafter, upon the 24th of the same month, and before the fact could be known in Guatemala, Mr. Chatfield had concluded the terms of a treaty with Costa Rica, by which that State was secured certain rights in San Juan, besides being recognized as an independent State, and placed under virtual British protection. This fact was not made known until the month of December of last year, and fully explains the conduct of Costa Rica at that time and subsequently.

Nicaragua now demanded that Costa Rica, having virtually refused to submit the question of Nicoya to the Diet, should comply with the terms of the 25th Article of her Constitution, already quoted, which provides that it should be submitted to the arbitration of the other States. To this evasive answers were given, and it was rendered certain that Costa Rica, relying upon British support against her most powerful neighbor, had no desire to settle the matter in dispute. She, in fact, repudiated all of her own propositions, and exhibited in her duplicity a striking contrast to the frank and conciliatory course of Nicaragua,—which State, had it been so disposed, might any day have taken possession of Nicoya, and held it against all the efforts of Costa Rica.

Upon the 28th of May following the seizure of San Juan, and after a treaty or arrangement had been concluded with Great Britain, by which Costa Rica acquired the right of transit through San Juan, this State addressed a communication to the Government of Nicaragua, announcing that it had authorized the opening of a road through the unsettled territory to the Serapiqui river. It said that it did not suppose, since what had transpired at San Juan, this could in any way affect the rights of Nicaragua; and added that it should not enter into the question of territorial right in the case, but regard that as settled beyond appeal! To this insolent proceeding Nicaragua replied with moderation and dignity. It said that it was not disposed to obstruct any enterprise which might tend to the advantage of Costa Rica, nor would it interpose any obstacles to the proposed road through its territories, provided that an arrangement should previously be made concerning it. To this end it was willing to receive any commissioner which Costa Rica might accredit for that purpose; but until such previous arrangement was made, it advised against any practical operations on the part of Costa Rica. That State however proceeded, without reply, in the construction of the road, making such minor arrangements as it thought convenient, with the British agents at San Juan. Nicaragua thereupon sent a formal protest against the infringement on its territories, but the sole reply was a communication from the British agent in San Juan, Mr. Christy, assigning new limits to the pretended Mosquito kingdom, and extending

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them more than *thirty miles* above the Serapiqui river, so as to cut off Nicaragua from that stream, and relieve Costa Rica from all further trouble! *Such* has been the course and tendency of British interference in Central America!

In the autumn of 1848, Don Felipe Molina was named Minister to England from Costa Rica, and was also empowered to visit Nicaragua, in reference to the question of boundary. He arrived in due time in Leon, and the conciliatory Government of Nicaragua went so far as to name a commissioner to treat with him. It does not seem that any real design of settling the question, on the basis of previous understandings, was entertained by Mr. Molina; and, as was to be anticipated, no result was effected. The propositions and counter propositions have all been published by the Nicaraguan Government. Costa Rica proposed, amongst other things, to submit the question of Nicoya to the decision of England, Belgium, Venezuela, or Chili; to which Nicaragua replied that the arbitration had already been solemnly provided for, that the arbitrators had been agreed upon, and that it was ready, at any time, to comply with its stipulations. The question of boundary, aside from Nicoya, Nicaragua expressed a willingness to submit to arbitration, and proposed a reference to the United States. Costa Rica, nevertheless, refused to comply with her agreement in respect to Nicoya or Guanacaste, without however assigning any reason for her bad faith; and her commissioner, instead of yielding to the proposition to refer the remaining questions of boundary to the United States, proceeded to assert that the northern boundary of Costa Rica was the river San Juan, for a distance of about two thirds of its length above its mouth, to the Castillo Viejo, and thence in a right line to the mouth of the river Flor on the Pacific! It should be observed that the new territorial limits of "Mosquito," as defined by Mr. Consul Christy, extended to the rapids of Machuca, but a few miles below the aforesaid castle! This castle was then, and had always been, garrisoned by a Nicaraguan force, as was admitted, it will be observed, by Mr. Molina.

The Nicaragua Commissioner responded to Mr. Molina by saying that Costa Rica had always admitted the rights of Nicaragua over the San Juan and its shores, and that

it could not now, with any show of consistency, set up pretensions to that stream as a boundary. Mr. Molina replied by suggesting that if this stream were made the boundary, Costa Rica would be willing to make a compensation therefor. In fact, an offer of \$100,000 was made to the Nicaraguan Government by the British Vice Consul, on behalf of Costa Rica, to procure the extinguishment of its title to the south bank of that river. These are important admissions.

But, as before said, the Commissioners agreed upon nothing, and their conferences ended by a formal protest on the part of Nicaragua—

1. Against any occupation of the territory in question, whether for roads conducting to the Serapiqui, or for any other work by which possession might be alleged on the part of Costa Rica.

2. Against any use of the waters of the Serapiqui or San Juan by giving them any other than their natural course, and against any use of them for purposes of commerce, except with the consent of Nicaragua—it being understood that any appropriation of them for the above purposes would be regarded as acts of violence, and as effected by force of arms.

3. Against the detention of Nicoya, from day to day; against all acts of jurisdiction over the people of the same, and against all foreign intervention, whereby Costa Rica may seek to dismember the State, or alienate any portion of the old Federation.

To these protests Mr. Molina entered counter protests, and thus the final attempt at arrangement ended.

When Mr. Molina arrived in England, Mr. Castillon, the representative of Nicaragua, proposed that a basis of agreement should be determined upon, but Mr. Molina made objection, on the score of Mr. Castillon's powers; yet expressed a willingness to proceed with the business, *provided he would consent to be bound by the decision of the British Government!* Mr. Castillon, satisfied that Molina was negotiating with England for her support and protection, enclosed, on the 27th of January, 1849, a copy of the protests of the Nicaraguan Commissioner (above quoted) to Lord Palmerston, with the object, as expressed in his note, "to impede whatever arrangement might be meditated with Mr. Molina, which might affect, in any manner, the rights of Nicaragua."

What the relations which then existed between Costa Rica and Great Britain were, may be inferred from the fact that when Mr. Christy, the Anglo-Mosquitian agent, advised the English Government that Nicaragua contemplated a war against Costa Rica, Lord Palmerston sent Mr. Addington, Under Secretary of State, to Mr. Castillon, to ask explanations, and to make known to him that the relations which existed between England and Costa Rica were of such a nature as not to permit the first to regard any such proceeding with indifference.

Before proceeding further, and at the risk of extending this article to a tiresome length, we may sum up the facts and points thus far developed and established, as follows. In respect to Nicoya, or Guanacaste—

1. That it pertained incontestibly to the Province of Nicaragua; and that therefore it subsequently pertained to the sovereign State of Nicaragua. As such, it elected members to the Constituent Assembly of the same.

2. That it was provisionally separated by the Federal Congress from the State of Nicaragua and attached to Costa Rica, in opposition to the wishes of its inhabitants, and under their protest and that of the State thus dismembered.

3. That Costa Rica accepted it, not as an integral part of its territories, but as a deposit.

4. That by the dissolution of the Federal Government, assented to both by Nicaragua and Costa Rica, it reverted, and of right, to Nicaragua,—the claims of which State were in no degree invalidated in consequence of its having, from motives of policy, failed decisively to re-assert them.

5. That Costa Rica, by her Constitution, by the conventions of her authorized agents and plenipotentiaries, and by the letters of her Government, agreed to submit the question of restitution to a Diet of all the States, or to the adjudication of two of them.

6. That she has subsequently refused to comply with her own stipulations, although repeatedly urged to do so by Nicaragua, and now asserts an unconditional territorial right over the district of Nicoya!

In respect to the territory bordering, and to the southward of the San Juan river and Lake Nicaragua, it appears—

1. That it was included in the Province of Nicaragua, and consequently falls within the sovereignty of that State.

2. That this has been admitted by Costa Rica herself in her Constitution, which only claims a line of boundary extending from the mouth of the river Salto to that of the San Juan—within which is included no portion of the latter river; by the fact that for a long period she paid transit duties to Nicaragua upon her imports passing through the rivers and adjacent territories; by the fact that she has treated for that river and its southern branches as the property of Nicaragua; and by the further fact that, as late as 1848, she offered \$100,000 for an extinguishment of the Nicaragua title.

3. That the entire river San Juan has always been occupied and controlled by Nicaragua; that San Juan was created a port of entry by the King of Spain, under the name of San Juan of Nicaragua, and placed by the same act under the control of the Intendant of that province; that for its defense military stations, also under the government of Nicaragua, were erected upon both sides of the river, from its source to its mouth; that some of these still exist, and are now, as always before, occupied by the people and troops of Nicaragua; that the Nicaraguans established and held a fort at the mouth of the Serapiqui, until driven off by the English as late as 1848; and finally that the nearest point designated by any official act of the Spanish Government, as pertaining to Costa Rica, is the port of Matina, *fifty miles to the southward of the San Juan.*

It is therefore clear that Costa Rica has not the shadow of a title to any portion of the San Juan river, nor to either of its banks, nor yet to any portion of the Lake of Nicaragua or its shores, nor to the department of Nicoya; and that any pretensions to territorial sovereignty which she may set up are false and indefensible, and can only be made for unwarrantable purposes.

We come now to recent events. After all that had transpired, as above recounted, and with a full consciousness of the impropriety and utterly unjustifiable nature of the proceeding, Mr. Molina arranged in England (whether with the co-operation of the English Government, or otherwise, is not known) a number of contracts for various purposes, one of which was for a canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by way of the river San Juan, Lake Nicaragua and the

river Sapoa, to the Gulf of Salinas. He went upon the assumption, it would seem, that Costa Rica had a right to control the territories and waters involved. He also arranged the terms of a contract for improving the navigation of the Serapiqui river,—as if Costa Rica had absolute proprietorship over that stream! Also a scheme of colonization on lands bordering the San Juan and Lake Nicaragua,—as though Costa Rica had an undisputed right to those territories! These contracts were made by Mr. Molina as the representative of Costa Rica, and it is fair to conclude, under powers from his Government. They are founded on assumptions involving the most sweeping territorial pretensions, and such as it is very clear would not be made against a more powerful Republic of Nicaragua, except under the assurance of support from other powers.

These proceedings exhibit the most flagrant and criminal disregard of the obligations which Costa Rica is under to Nicaragua for her moderation and forbearance, and would justify the latter State in a resort to the ultimate redress of war. Costa Rica seems to have anticipated such a result, and therefore sought shelter behind the power of England,—very reasonably concluding from the operations of the latter on the Mosquito shore, that should it be made to her interest to sustain the pretensions of the former, it would matter very little whether or not they were founded in justice. Nor was England long in perceiving that as *quasi* protector of Costa Rica she would be likely to get a better hold on the important isthmus south of the San Juan, than she could well secure as protector of his sable Majesty of Mosquito. It would be going rather far, even for England, to pretend that this fictitious sovereign had a title to the continent from sea to sea,

and British designs would be but imperfectly subverted unless she could control not only one of the termini, but the whole line of the only practicable canal across the continent. The sturdy Republicanism of Nicaragua was in the way: to have seized openly upon her territories was a step too likely to attract the attention of the world, and provoke the inquiry of nations. Costa Rica was therefore incited to make pretension to enough of her territory to cover the proposed line of canal, under the assurance of direct British protection. But the intervention of the United States has rendered any direct protection out of the question, and the original design has been modified accordingly. As we said at the outset, we are now assured that there is no such protection; yet it is notorious that practically the relationship amounts to the same thing. The so-called Government of Costa Rica is under the entire control of British agents; Downing street sustains there its stipendiary Flores, who is *de facto* the Government, and as we have seen by recently published intercepted letters, an active co-laborer with Mr. Chatfield. The affected fairness of Great Britain in this matter is mere pretence. She will sign as many treaties as may be presented to her, so that they are pointless, and do not affect the vital questions at issue; and she will flood the State department with diplomatic letters, as plausible as evasive, if thereby she may deceive the American Government. But the fact that she this day holds virtual sovereignty over more than half of Central America, comprehending nearly the whole coast from Yucatan to New-Grenada, is not to be disguised; and it is one which is not to be got over by constructive treaties, nor by "having the honor to be" of Foreign Ministers. We have had enough of both.

WHAT CONSTITUTES REAL FREEDOM OF TRADE?

CHAPTER IV.

THE corner-stone of the modern English system is, as has before been stated, to be found in the following comparative view of agriculture and manufactures:—

"So far, indeed, is it from being true that nature does much for man in agriculture and nothing in manufactures, that the fact is more nearly the reverse. There are no limits to the bounty of nature in manufactures; but there are limits, and those not very remote, to her bounty in agriculture. The greatest possible amount of capital might be expended in the construction of steam engines, or of any other sort of machinery, and after they had been multiplied indefinitely, the last would be as powerful and efficient in producing commodities and doing labor as the first. Such, however, is not the case with the soil. Lands of the first quality are speedily exhausted; and it is impossible to apply capital indefinitely, even on the best soils, without obtaining from it a constantly diminishing rate of profit. The rent of the landlord is not, as Dr. Smith conceives it to be, the recompense of the work of nature remaining, after all that part of the product is deducted which can be considered as the recompense of the working man. But it is, as will be afterwards shown, the excess of produce obtained from the best soils in cultivation, over that which is obtained from the worst—it is a consequence not of the increase, but of the diminution of the productive power of the labor employed in agriculture." (M'Culloch's Principles, p. 166.)

Dr. Smith regarded labor, applied to the work of cultivation, as being that which tended *most* to facilitate the acquisition of the necessary conveniences and comforts of life. Mr. M'Culloch regards labor so applied as being that which *least* tends to produce that effect, and here is to be found the difference in the base of the two systems. How far the latter one tends to the production of freedom of trade we may now examine.

The two great commodities that are the subjects of exchange are, as has been shown, *labor* and *land*. The system of Mr. M'Culloch teaches, that with increase of population there arises a necessity for cultivating

soils "of constantly increasing sterility," with "diminution in the productive power of the labor employed in agriculture," and that with each step in the progress of diminution the landowner takes an increased *proportion* as rent, leaving necessarily a diminished *proportion* of the diminished quantity to the laborer, until at length the landholder must be entitled to claim the whole, as is shown in the table given in a former chapter,* with a view to exhibit the working of Mr. Ricardo's system.†

It is clear that with a diminished power of production, resulting from increase of population, the laborer must become less and less able to determine with whom he will exchange his labor, or what shall be its price. It is also clear that as the soils in cultivation become more and more sterile men must separate more widely from each other, and that the power of voluntary association must *diminish*, while the power of the landlord to compel men to associate for

* See the table of distribution at page 231.

† The extraordinary difficulty attendant upon making any two parts of this unnatural system correspond with each other, will be seen from the following facts. Mr. M'Culloch, following Mr. Ricardo, asserts that as the productiveness of labor decreases rent increases, and that the landowner who receives nothing when production is great, receives much when it becomes small. It is obvious that the laborer's *proportion*, according to the theory, is a *diminishing* one. The fact, however, is known to be the reverse, and that in opposition to the theory, the laborer's proportion is a constantly *increasing* one, and this is accounted for on the plea of necessity, as will be seen by the following extract:—

"It is plain that the decreasing productiveness of the soils to which every improving society is obliged to resort, will not, as was previously observed, merely lessen the quantity of produce to be divided between profits and wages, but will also increase the *proportion* of that produce falling to the share of the laborer. It is quite impossible to go on increasing the cost of raw produce, the principal part of the subsistence of the laborer, by forcing good, or taking inferior lands into cultivation, without increasing wages." (M'Culloch, Principles, p. 486.)

We thus see that the same law which *diminishes* the laborer's proportion also *increases* it. The smaller the quantity obtained the larger is the proportion *taken* by the landlord, and the larger that which is *left* for the laborer. Such is the modern English political economy.

the purpose of working in the fields, or for that of carrying arms and making war upon their neighbors, must *increase*; and, therefore, that trade in the greatest of all commodities, labor, must become less and less free with each step in the growth of population. Voluntary association is essential to the increase in the productiveness of labor, and with the diminution in the power to associate, labor must become less productive of commodities to be exchanged. The power to trade in commodities must, therefore, diminish with diminution in the power freely to exchange labor, and such, according to the theory, are the inevitable consequences of increase in wealth and population.

With a population steadily increasing, accompanied by a constantly diminishing productiveness of labor, and a constantly increasing power on the part of the landlord to demand rent, the laborer must daily become more and more a slave to the landowner, and a slave to his necessities, with a daily approach to the state of things anticipated by Mr. Mill, when "wages will be reduced so low that a portion of the population will regularly die from the consequences of want."*

The "natural inclinations of man" lead him to association, and especially to the formation of that intimate association which leads to increase of population; and the object of the *Wealth of Nations* is that of proving that the more perfectly he is permitted to act in accordance with those "inclinations" the greater will be the power to produce and the power to trade. The object of the modern school is that of showing that indulgence of his "natural inclinations" leads to diminished productiveness of labor, diminished power to trade, poverty, wretchedness, and death.

By one of the recent writers of this school† marriage is held to be "a luxury" in which the poor have no right to indulge. By another we are told that it is "an enjoyment," and that the poor "have no right to marry till they have made provision for the maintenance of the expected family."‡

Restraints on that species of commerce which follows from that earliest of God's commands, *be fruitful and multiply*,—that command, to obey which man is most

prompted by his "natural inclinations,"—that command, obedience to which tends most to bring into activity the best feelings of his nature,—lie at the base of modern English Political Economy, which professes to follow in the footsteps of Adam Smith, and to belong to his free-trade school. To what extent the views of late writers on this subject are carried, and how far they tend towards promoting the freedom of man in the indulgence of those "natural inclinations" implanted in him by the Deity, and for the wisest and best of purposes, may be seen by the following passage:—

"Every one has a right to live. We will suppose this granted," says Mr. Mill, (*Pol. Econ.* i. 428.) "But no one has a right to bring creatures into life to be supported by other people. Whoever means to stand upon the first of these rights must renounce all the pretensions to the last. If a man cannot support even himself unless others help him, those others are entitled to say that they do not also undertake the support of all the offspring which it is physically possible for him to summon into the world. Yet there are abundance of writers and public speakers, including many of most ostentatious pretensions to high feelings, whose views of life are so truly brutish, that they see hardship in preventing paupers from breeding hereditary paupers in the very workhouse itself! Posterity will one day ask, with astonishment, what sort of people it could be among whom such preachers could find proselytes.

"It is conceivable that the State might guarantee employment at ample wages to all who are born. But if it does this, it is bound, in self-protection, and for the sake of every purpose for which government exists, to provide that no person shall be born without its consent. If the ordinary and natural motives to self-restraint are removed, others must be substituted. Restrictions on marriage, at least equivalent to those existing in some of the German states, or severe penalties on those who have children when unable to support them, would then be indispensable. Society may feed the necessitous, if it takes their multiplication under its control; or it may leave the last to their discretion, if it abandons the first to their own care. But it cannot take half of the one course and half of the other. Let it choose that which circumstances

* Mill's Political Economy, p. 16.

† Thornton on Over-Population.

‡ Edinburgh Review, October, 1849.

or the public sentiment render most expedient. But it cannot with impunity take the feeding on itself, and leave the multiplying free."

It is thus denied that provision should be made for the support of the poor, because the belief that his family will be supported tends to lead the poor laborer to seek companionship in his misfortune by obtaining a wife, and such conduct is held to be "a sin," the correction of which is to be found in permitting parent and child to pay "the penalty" by allowing them to starve. That the reader may fully understand how far the system tends towards the enfranchisement of man, and the growth of power to follow the bent of his natural and laudable inclination towards association, the following passage from the latest writer on the subject is submitted for his perusal, and he is requested particularly to note, first, that the italics are the author's own; and, second, that while he disclaims any intention of advising that the poor should be permitted to starve to death, he does not disclaim his belief that true policy would teach that they should be left to suffer every "penalty" short of "positive death":—

"The second class is by far the most numerous; and it is in dealing with this class that the radical error of our social philosophy is most apparent and most injurious. The idle, the dissolute, the dawdling;—the Irish peasant, who will beg for a penny rather than work for a shilling;—the Irish fisherman, who burns his boats for firewood, and pawns his nets, instead of using them to fish with;—the agricultural laborer, who waits listlessly in his hovel till work finds him out, instead of diligently setting out to seek it, in every direction, for himself,—and who remains a burden on his parish, when manufacturing enterprise in the next town is hampered and delayed for want of hands;—the Sheffield grinder, who being able to earn a guinea a day, will only work two days in the week, and drinks the other five;—the spinners and weavers in manufacturing towns, who waste hundreds of thousands of pounds in *strikes* for higher wages, which always end in the impoverishment of both themselves and their employers, and in leaving numbers of them permanently unprovided;—the unionists, who, like the weavers of Norwich, the ship-builders and sawyers of Dublin, and the lace-makers of

Nottingham, have, by violence and unreasonable demands, driven away trade from their respective localities;—and, finally, the thousands who, in spite of exhortation, in spite of the bitter warnings of experience, persist in spending every week the last farthing of their earnings, as if prosperity, and youth, and health could always last:—all these are the laborious architects of their own ill-fortune,—all these are destitute by their own act, their own folly, their own guilt. Those parents, again, who marry with no means of bringing up a family, with no provision for the future, no sure and ample support even for the present;—those who (like a hand-loom weaver whom we knew) bring up eleven children to an overstocked and expiring trade, which, even to themselves, affords only insufficient earnings and unsteady employment; and those who spend in wastefulness and drinking wages which, carefully husbanded, might secure a future maintenance for their offspring;—these all bring into the world paupers, who are destitute by their parents' culpability,—and the sins of the father are visited upon the children.

"Now, with regard to these classes, whatever aid the sentiments of Christian charity may prompt us, as individuals, and in each individual case, to administer, or however it may be occasionally necessary for the State to interpose for the actual salvation of *life*, it is important to pronounce distinctly that, on no principle of social right or justice, have they any claim to share the earnings or the savings of their more prudent, more energetic, more self-denying fellow-citizens. They have made for themselves the hard bed they lie on. They have sinned against the plainest laws of nature, and must be left to the corrective which nature has 'in that case made and provided';—a corrective which is certain to operate in the end, if only we do not step in to counteract it by regulations dictated by plausible and pardonable, but shallow and short-sighted humanity. But let us not lose sight of the indubitable truth, that *if we stand between the error and its consequence, we stand between the evil and its cure*,—if we intercept the penalty (where it does not amount to positive death) we perpetuate the sin."

Such are the doctrines of the "free-trade" school of England, and they follow naturally from those of Mr. Ricardo, and of Mr.

McCulloch, the latter of whom teaches in opposition to Dr. Smith, that so far is labor applied to agriculture from being the most productive, we should err little in saying that it was that in which nature least aided his efforts, because land was becoming daily more and more sterile, while steam engines and ships could now be built at least equal in capacity with any that had preceded them. Were the author of "The Wealth of Nations" alive, he would indignantly disclaim all connection with a school which taught that freedom of commerce was to be found in making of the indulgence of man's most "natural inclination" a crime, "the penalty" for which was to be any species of bodily and mental torture and exhaustion, short of "positive death." He could hold no fellowship with such men.

Every act of association has, as we have already said, commerce for its object. The husband gives his care, his labors and their products, for the maintenance of his wife and for the improvement of her condition, and the wife does the same by him. The father aids the child in his youth, and the child does the same by him in his age. The people of the village associate for the making of roads and the maintenance of churches and schools, and the blacksmith, the carpenter, the mason, and the laborer associate for the building of the houses, the schools, the churches, and the market-houses; and the more rapid the increase of population the greater will be the power of association, the more productive the labor, and the greater the power to maintain commerce. Mr. McCulloch teaches the reverse of all this. He holds that to render labor productive, men must abstain from the commerce of the sexes, and that the more widely they separate from each other, the more advantageously will labor be employed, and the larger will be the power to trade. The ship and the wagon are in his estimation as productive as the plough and the harrow, because with him *dispersion* is the road to wealth; whereas Dr. Smith looked to *concentration* as the means of dispensing with both ship and wagon, and thus rendering more productive the labors of those who followed the plough and drove the harrow. Which of the two systems it is that tends most to facilitate the power to exchange labor for labor the reader may now decide. Should he on full consideration arrive at the

conclusion that men who are far distant from each other can combine their exertions more readily than men who live near each other, he will be fully qualified to enroll himself as a member of the modern "*free-trade*" school. Should he, on the contrary, believe that men who are near each other combine their exertions more readily than those who are distant, he will find himself fitted to enroll himself among the disciples of Adam Smith, who taught *freedom of commerce* among men.

We may now look to see how the modern British system tends to affect the trade in the second great instrument of production, land.

The great machine of production is the land, and if the whole be monopolized by a single individual, or by a government, it is obvious that in this there can be *no trade whatever*. If owned by a few individuals there can be little trade. If divided among a large number of people, there will be frequent exchanges, and consequently much trade. The system of Adam Smith looked to the division of land, and consequently to the increase of trade in land. That of Mr. McCulloch is opposed to its division, and consequently to any increase in the number of exchanges to be made of it.

With every increase of population, labor is, according to his theory, less advantageously applied, and the landholder obtains as rent a large *proportion* of the product, enabling him, of course, not only to retain his old possessions, but to add to them by enclosing, or by purchasing, new ones. The laborer obtains a smaller *proportion* of the diminished quantity, and becomes, therefore, from day to day less able to obtain food, and consequently less and less able to purchase land, or to retain the little patch that he may have enclosed and cultivated. The tendency of the system is therefore to diminish in the amount of commerce in land.

Such being the theory, we find Mr. McCulloch, as might naturally be expected, an advocate of the system which tends to tie up land by means of laws of primogeniture, entails, and settlements, in regard to which he says:—

"It has long been customary in this, as well as in many other countries, when estates consist of land, to leave them wholly or principally to the eldest son, and to give to the younger sons and daughters smaller portions in money. Many objections have been made to this custom, but mostly, as it appears to me, without due consider-

ation. That it has its inconveniences there is no doubt, but they seem to be trifling compared with the advantages which it exclusively possesses. It forces the younger sons to quit the home of their father, and makes them depend for success in life on the fair exercise of their talents; it helps to prevent the splitting of landed property into too small portions; and stimulates the holders of estates to endeavor to save a monied fortune adequate for the outfit of the younger children, without rendering them a burden on their senior. Its influence in these and other respects is equally powerful and salutary. The sense of inferiority as compared with others is, next to the pressure of want, one of the most powerful incentives to exertion. It is not always because a man is poor that he is perseveringly industrious, economical, and inventive; in many cases he is already wealthy, and is merely wishing to place himself in the same rank as others who have still larger fortunes. The younger sons of our great landed proprietors are particularly sensible to this stimulus. Their relative inferiority in point of wealth, and their desire to escape from this lower situation, and to attain to the same level as their elder brothers, inspires them with an energy and vigor they would not otherwise feel. But the advantage of preserving large estates from being frittered down by a scheme of equal division, is not limited to its effects on the younger children of their owners. It raises universally the standard of competence, and gives new force to the springs which set industry in motion. The manner of living in great landlords is that in which every one is ambitious of being able to indulge; and their habits of expense, though somewhat injurious to themselves, act as powerful incentives to the ingenuity and enterprise of other classes, who never think their fortunes sufficiently ample, unless they will enable them to emulate the splendor of the richest landlords; so that the custom of primogeniture seems to render all classes more industrious, and to augment at the same time the mass of wealth and the scale of enjoyment." (Principles, p. 259.)

It seems scarcely to have occurred to Mr. McCulloch that if the accumulation of land in the hands of a few persons tended to produce, in so great a degree, all these advantageous effects, the accumulation of the whole in the hands of one person would tend to produce them in a much greater degree; and that, therefore, the perfection of his system of ownership of landed property would be found in India, where the government is sole proprietor. Leaving, however, for the present, the consideration of this subject, we may now look to see how far the system tends to extend or to diminish the power to exchange the products of land for labor expended on the land itself, in regard to which we are told that "the father cannot do many things advantageous to himself and beneficial to the property,

without the consent of the son, and the son cannot make a settlement on his marriage without the consent of the father," and that "cases do sometimes occur of father and son driving hard bargains with each other."* It is obvious from this that the system tends to shut out from land the employment of much labor that might beneficially be applied to its improvement, and that would be so applied, were that system non-existent. Throughout Scotland an entailed estate can be distinguished, we are told, by the fact of its greatly inferior cultivation.† The system tends, therefore, to diminish the power of voluntary combination between the laborer and the landowner, and to diminish the amount of trade in both labor and land.

To carry it out, there exists a necessity for incumbering estates with settlements in favor of wives, widows, younger sons, and daughters, and the reader needs not to be told that such incumbrances operate always as a bar to the division, and most generally to the improvement of land. On this head we are told that "There is a point of great and immediate importance on which we must say a few words. We have seen that in settlements successive tenants for life have powers given them to jointure wives, and to provide for younger children, the latter being effected by means of charges upon the inheritance. The result, broadly stated, is, that the present possessor has to bear the burdens imposed by his predecessors; and this goes on from generation to generation. The fee-simple is, consequently, never entirely free from debt; and there is a sort of running partition of it between its possessors and those in whose favor family provisions are made. We are far from objecting to this, if the proper relative proportion be maintained. The great aim ought to be not to permit the inheritance to be too much incumbered; and on the whole this object has, in England, been steadily kept in view. We must say with regret, however, that we have detected a tendency recently to violate this wholesome principle. A practice is creeping in by which the inheritance is laden with larger family provisions than it can properly bear. The result is already manifest in much uneasiness and embarrass-

* Quarterly Review, July, 1848. Art. Entails of Lands.

† North British Review.

ment. It is time to convey a warning to landowners. This practice may not be a general one as yet, but its extension cannot be too energetically protested against. We venture to think that it had its origin from the following circumstance:—that—whereas the jointures for widows, of course, expire with their lives—the provisions for younger children are made substantial charges on the inheritance, and are not regarded in the same light as are other incumbrances. Proprietors do not, consequently, sufficiently exert themselves to free their estates from them; and not only are they permitted to remain undischarged, but are frequently made the subject of separate settlements. Now such of our readers as attend to these matters at all are aware that an Act was passed in 1846, empowering the owners of estates to borrow public money for a limited amount to aid them in the drainage of land. The land to be benefited is charged under the Act with payment to the Crown, for twenty-two years, of a rent-charge of 6*l.* 10*s.* a year for 100*l.* advanced. The calculation was, that at the end of the term the advances would be fully repaid, principal and interest. This Act has been extensively acted upon, and we must ask whether some, if not all, of the burdens which are usually imposed on the inheritance in English settlements, might not, with advantage, be thrown into the shape of similar tenantable rent-charges? Mr. McCulloch suggests this with reference to Scotland—but why not apply it also to England? Our machinery of trustees is complete—ready to our hand: they might receive the rent-charges as they arose, and invest them in proper security, and they might be armed with the usual powers for compelling payment. The advantages of such a plan appear obvious. The present possessors would be made to feel more sensibly the necessity of not overloading their properties with incumbrances, by having themselves to liquidate either the whole or a portion of the principal as well as the interest, in place of throwing the weight of such incumbrances on posterity—and the inheritance would from time to time be freed from preceding burdens while it assumed others.”

We have here, in addition to all the old modes of fettering land, a system of trusts for its improvement, the necessary consequence of which must be still greater diffi-

culty in every operation connected with commerce in the great instrument of production, land.

In the days of Adam Smith about one fifth of the surface of Scotland was supposed to be entailed, and he saw the disadvantages of the system to be so great that he denounced the system as being “founded upon the most absurd of all suppositions, the supposition that every successive generation of men have not an equal right to the earth and all that it possesses; but that the property of the present generation should be retained and regulated according to the fancy of those who died perhaps five hundred years ago.” Instead of changing the system, and doing that which might tend to the establishment of greater freedom of trade in land, the movement has been in a contrary direction, and to such an extent that one half of Scotland is now supposed to be entailed; and yet this is the system advocated by Mr. McCulloch, the follower in the steps of Adam Smith, as being the one calculated “to render all classes more industrious, and to augment at the same time the mass of wealth and the scale of enjoyment.” If it could do this, it would be by facilitating combination of action between the laborer and the landowner for the improvement of the land. How far it does so may be judged from the following passage from another of the disciples of the schools of Messrs. Ricardo and Malthus, Mr. J. Stuart Mill:—

“In Great Britain, the landed proprietor is not unfrequently an improver. But it cannot be said that he is generally so. And in the majority of cases he grants the liberty of cultivation on such terms, as to prevent improvements from being made by any one else. In the southern parts of the island, as there are usually no leases, permanent improvements can scarcely be made except by the landlord’s capital; accordingly the South, compared with the North of England, and with the Lowlands of Scotland, is extremely backward in agricultural improvement. The truth is, that any very general improvement of land by the landlords, is hardly compatible with a law or custom of primogeniture. When the land goes wholly to the heir, it generally goes to him severed from the pecuniary resources which would enable him to improve it, the personal property being absorbed by the provision for younger children, and the land itself often heavily burthened for the same purpose. There is therefore but a small proportion of landlords who have the means of making expensive improvements, unless they do it with borrowed money, and by adding to the mortgages with which in most cases the land was

already burthened when they received it. But the position of the owner of a deeply mortgaged estate is so precarious; economy is so unwelcome to one whose apparent fortune greatly exceeds his real means, and the vicissitudes of rent and price which only trench upon the margin of his income, are so formidable to one who can call little more than that margin his own; that it is no wonder if few landlords find themselves in a condition to make immediate sacrifices for the sake of future profit. Were they ever so much inclined, those alone can prudently do it, who have seriously studied the principles of scientific agriculture; and great landlords have seldom seriously studied anything. They might at least hold out inducements to the farmers to do what they will not or cannot do themselves; but even in granting leases, it is in England a general complaint that they tie up their tenants by covenants grounded on the practices of an obsolete and exploded agriculture; while most of them, by withholding leases altogether, and giving the farmer no guarantee of possession beyond a single harvest, keep the land on a footing little more favorable to improvement than in the time of our barbarous ancestors,

—immetata quibus jugera liberos
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annua.

"Landed property in England is thus very far from completely fulfilling the conditions which render its existence economically justifiable. But if insufficiently realized even in England, in Ireland those conditions are not complied with at all. With individual exceptions, (some of them very honorable ones,) the owners of Irish estates do nothing for the land but drain it of its produce. What has been epigrammatically said in the discussions on 'peculiar burthens,' is literally true when applied to them; that the greatest 'burthen on land' is the landlords. Returning nothing to the soil, they consume its whole produce, minus the potatoes strictly necessary to keep the inhabitants from dying of famine; and when they have any notion of improvement, it consists in not leaving even this pittance, but turning out the people, to beggary if not to starvation. When landed property has placed itself upon this footing, it ceases to be defensible, and the time has come for making some new arrangement of the matter."

So great does Mr. Mill believe to be the disadvantages of the system, that he holds that the people have a right to discard the landowners; the claim of the latter to the land being altogether "subordinate to the general policy of the State." Widely different is all this from the teachings of Adam Smith, who saw that improvement in the condition of man, and perfect respect for all the rights of property, went hand in hand with each other. Security of property is essential to the growth of commerce, and yet the modern system of "free trade" is based upon the doctrines of Mr. Ricardo, which constitute the best defence of the modern

French ideas on the subject of the right to property. The best text book in the world for Red-republicanism, and for communism, is that gentleman's "Principles of Political Economy."

Being favorable to a continuance of the system which tends to limit, and almost altogether prevents, commerce in land, by means of purchase and sale, Mr. McCulloch, as might naturally be expected, favors also that mode of tenancy which tends most to prevent combination of action between the landowner and his smaller neighbor, who would desire to cultivate his land, paying rent for its use. He, therefore, informs us that "the opinions of the great majority of those who, from their acquaintance with agriculture, are best enabled to decide on such matters, are exceedingly hostile to the small farming system." He thinks that the occupants of small farms cannot "accumulate capital," and therefore that it is not "superfluous to enforce the propriety of letting land in preference to large farmers, even although small tenants are willing to pay higher rents than could be obtained from the larger one." The more *middle-men* the better. He prefers the ship and the wagon to the plough and the loom—the merchant and the sailor to the farmer and the planter—and the large tenant, surrounded by hired laborers who make their homes in distant villages, to the small occupants of a dozen acres each, who deal directly with the great landowner, even although they obtain from the land so much more that they can afford to pay a higher rent. His views and those of the school he represents, in regard to the exchanges of labor and land, the great instruments of all production, are diametrically opposed to those of the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, and therefore it is that they find the ideas upon which his system rests to be "fundamentally erroneous." Dr. Smith looked to the division of land, the diversification of employment, and the combination of action among men. His successors look to the centralization of land, the territorial division of labor, and the dispersion of men. The former is based on the plough and the loom, working in connection with each other. The latter, on the ship and the wagon passing between the plough and the loom.

The steam-engine that grinds the grain is deemed preferable to the great machine which produces the grain, because, while the

soil is becoming daily more sterile, each successive engine may be equal to the last; and, for the same reason, the wagon which carries the grain to market, and the ship which transports the cotton, are deemed to be entitled to a preference over the earth which produces both. If, however, the supply of grain be not maintained, we do not need more engines, and if that of cotton be diminished, we need fewer ships. To maintain the power of the land for the production of either, it is necessary to return to the land the refuse of its products; and if the policy of England tends to prevent such return, the necessary consequence must be that the farmers and planters of the world must produce less grain and less cotton, and that thus the effort to make the cultivation of the land "merely subsidiary to foreign commerce" by augmenting the number of steam-engines and ships, must be that of diminishing the power of foreign countries to maintain trade, to take the place of the great domestic trade which is thus abandoned.

A steam-engine *produces* nothing. It diminishes the labor required for converting wool into cloth, or grain into flour; for freeing mines from water; or for transporting wool, or grain, or coal. The gain from its use is the wages of that labor, *minus* the loss by deterioration of the machine. Labor applied to fashioning the earth produces wages, *plus* the gain by improvement of the machine. The more an engine can be made to yield the worse it will become. The more the earth can be made to yield the better will it become. The man who neglects his farm to employ himself and his engine in the work of fashioning or exchanging the products of other farms, obtains wages, *minus* loss of capital. He who employs himself on his own farm obtains wages, *plus* profits resulting from the improvement of the farm, to the extent that that improvement exceeds the loss from the deterioration of the spades, ploughs, engines, or other machinery that is used.

To test the correctness of this view, we submit two cases to the consideration of the reader. A and B have each a horse and cart, and a farm from which they can have three hundred bushels of wheat, or its equivalent. An offer is made to give them each that quantity, but the distance is so great that the hauling will occupy precisely the

same time as the raising would do. A accepts, and B does not. A spends his time, and that of his horse and cart, on the road. B stays at home. When it rains, A stops in the road-side tavern. B spends the same day at home, repairing his house. When A's horse feeds and rests, his master has nothing to do. B grubs up an old root, or repairs a fence. A's horse deposits his manure in the road. That of B goes on his farm. A's horse hauls every day, and the service performed, nothing remains. B opens a marl pit, and puts on his land manure for two or three years. At the end of the year A's horse and cart are worn out, while B's are almost as good as new. The farm of A has deteriorated, while that of B has greatly improved. Both have done the same number of days' work, and both have received the same compensation, yet A is poorer and B richer than at first. Every diminution in the quantity required of the machinery of exchange tends to increase the quantity of labor, both of body and mind, that may be applied directly to production, and labor so applied is rewarded not only with an increased return, but with an increase in the powers of the machine itself. Such has been the case in all time past, and such must it ever continue to be.

It is by this almost insensible contribution of labor that land acquires value. The first object of the poor cultivator of the thin soils is to obtain food and clothing for himself and his family. His leisure is given to the work of improvement. At one place he cuts a little drain, and at another he roots out a stump. At one moment he cuts fuel for his family, and thus clears his land; and at another digs a well to facilitate the watering of his cattle, and thus keep his manure in the stable yard. He knows that the machine will feed him better the more perfectly he fashions it, and that there is always place for his time and his labor to be expended with advantage to himself.

A piece of land that yields £100 *per annum* will sell for £3,000. A steam-engine that will produce the same, will scarcely command £1,000. Why should this difference exist? It is because the buyer of the first knows that it will pay him wages and interest, *plus* the increase of its value by use. The buyer of the other knows that it will give him wages and interest, *minus* the diminution in its value by use. The one

takes three and a third per cent., *plus* the difference: the other ten, *minus* the difference. The one buys a machine that improves by use. The other, one that deteriorates with use. The one is buying a machine produced by the labor of past times, and to the creation of which has been applied all the spare time of a series of generations; and he gives for it one third or one half of the labor that would be now required to produce it in its present state, were it reduced to its original one. That of the other is bought at the actual price of the labor that it has cost. The one is a machine upon which new capital and labor may be expended with constantly increasing return; while upon the other no such expenditure can be made. We have now before us an account of recent operations at Knowsley, where an expenditure of £7 10s. per acre for draining, was rewarded by an increase of 20s. in rent, or more than thirteen per cent. In another case, where land had been abandoned as totally worthless, labor to the amount of 40s. per acre was attended with a gain of 10s. per acre to the owner, and 10s. to the tenant, making fifty per cent. per annum: without taking into consideration the gain to the laborer in the increased facility of procuring the necessities of life. Lord Stanley, who furnished this statement, said, and we are sure most truly, that although he and his father had for several years laid a million of tiles per annum, they felt that as yet they had only made a beginning.* We believe that they have, even yet, scarcely begun to think upon the subject. They are only beginning to wake up. We have also before us an account of a field so completely worn out that it produced, with manure, but five hundred weight of turnips, but which, by being treated with sulphuric acid and bones, was made to yield two hundred and eighty-five hundred weight; and another, which gave to coal ashes and coal dust but eighty-eight hundred weight, gave to the acid and bones, two hundred and fifty-one hundred weight. Such profits are not to be found in any other pursuit; and yet England has been wasting her energies on ships, colonies, and commerce, having at her feet an inexhaustible magazine asking only to be worked.

* Thirty years since, all the tiles laid in the United Kingdom amounted to but seventy-one millions per annum.

The improvement above described is remarkable, only because concentrated within a short space of time. Had the land described by Lord Stanley been cultivated by the owner, and had he felt that agriculture was a science worthy of his attention, the drainage would have taken place gradually, and the improvement would have been marked by a gradual growth in the power to pay better wages and more rent. We have before us a notice of land rented for nine hundred pounds, at the close of a long lease at one hundred and thirty pounds. During all this time, its owner has had interest on his capital, and at the close of the lease, his capital has increased seven times. His investment was better than it would have been in steam-engines at ten per cent., because *his* engineer paid him for the privilege of building up his machine, whereas the steam-engineer would have required to be paid while wearing the machine out. Everybody is content with small interest, and sometimes with no interest, from land, where population and wealth are rapidly growing, because *there* capital is steadily augmenting without effort. Such is the experience of all men who own landed property where population and wealth are *permitted* to increase: for they *will* always increase if not prevented by interferences like those which have existed in England, and to a still greater extent in France. The great pursuit of man is agriculture. There is none "in which so many of the laws of nature must be consulted and understood as in the cultivation of the earth. Every change of the season, every change even of the wind, every fall of rain, must affect some of the manifold operations of the farmer. In the improvement of our various domestic animals, some of the most abstruse principles of physiology must be consulted. Is it to be supposed that men thus called upon to study, or to observe the laws of nature, and labor in conjunction with its powers, require less of the light of the highest science than the merchant or the manufacturer?" It is not. It is the science that requires the greatest knowledge, *and the one that pays best for it*; and yet England has driven man, and wealth, and mind, into the less profitable pursuits of fashioning and exchanging the products of other lands; and has expended thousands of millions on fleets and armies to enable her to drive with

foreign nations the poor trade, when her own soil offered her the richer one that tends to produce that increase of wealth and concentration of population which have in all times and in all ages given the self-protective power that requires neither fleets, nor armies, nor tax-gatherers. In her efforts to force this trade, she has driven the people of the United States to extend themselves over vast tracts of inferior land when they might more advantageously have concentrated themselves on rich ones; and she has thus delayed the progress of civilization abroad and at home. She has made it necessary for the people of grain-growing countries to rejoice in the deficiencies of her harvests, as affording them the outlet for surplus food that they could not consume, and that was sometimes abandoned on the field, as not worth the cost of harvesting; instead of being enabled to rejoice in the knowledge that others were likely to be fed as abundantly as themselves; and such is the necessary result of the policy advocated by the modern free-trade school of England, which teaches the dispersion of man in opposition to the concentration of man, advocated by the founder of the real free-trade school, whose system has been long repudiated by those who profess to hold him in reverence as the founder of the school in which they have constituted themselves professors. They have yet to learn, what their master well knew, that every increase in the *necessity* for ships and wagons tends to diminish the freedom of man, the freedom of trade, and the power to maintain trade. Their views are precisely those described by him in the following paragraph: "The inland or home trade, *the most important of all*, the trade in which an equal capital affords the greatest profit and creates the greatest employment to the people of the country, was considered as subsidiary only to foreign trade. It neither brought money into the country, it was said, nor carried any out of it. The country, therefore, could never become richer or poorer by means of it, except so far as its prosperity or decay might indirectly influence the state of foreign trade."*

* How perfectly the views of some of the American disciples of the modern English school correspond with those denounced by Dr. Smith, may be seen from the following passage which we take from the Patent Office Report, for 1848. The commerce of the family is nothing, nor is that of

Adam Smith cautioned his countrymen against the then existing system as tending "to produce an improper and dangerous distribution of population at home, with diminution in the wages of British labor and the profits of British capital, and as tending at the same time to prevent the proper, necessary, and natural distribution of employments abroad, and therefore as a "manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind." He saw that the ship, the wagon, the spindle and the loom—the machinery of exchange and of conversion—were useful to the extent that they enabled man to employ more labor in the work of production, and no further, and that their substitution for machines of production tended to diminish both the power to produce and the power to maintain trade. The steam-engine economizes the labor required for converting the wheat into flour, and if that labor can be applied to producing more wheat, or grass, or wool, or of any other of the commodities useful to man, the substitution is advantageous; but if, by reason of restraints on the owners of land, it cannot be so applied, the engine is not only not useful, but *positively injurious*. If it dispenses with the labor of a hundred men, they are discharged to seek other employment, and if it cannot be obtained, they must nevertheless eat food, wear clothes, and have shelter—even if it be the poor-house. Instead of receiving these things in return for labor, they must now receive

the neighborhood anything. It is the trivial amount which enters into the general commerce of the world that is to be alone regarded:—

"When we revert to first principles in political economy, we think it must be admitted that *the surplus of any crop or commodity which is sold by the producer, and enters into the general commerce of the world, is the only part of it which has, in truth, so far as the accumulation of wealth by the nation is concerned, any value*. That portion of his own production which the farmer consumes in his family or on his farm is of no account or value whatever in the general commerce of the world, and has, in fact, no price. It is the surplus which enters into commerce only that has price; and that only, strictly speaking, it is of importance to estimate. Therefore, to be precisely correct, *the true rule would be to call the amount of wheat consumed by the producer nothing, and estimate only the amount which he has to sell*."

The most important portion of the domestic trade adds nothing to the accumulation of wealth! The object of Dr. Smith's work was the denunciation of the idea that "England's Treasure" was to be found in "Foreign Trade," and yet we have it here repeated by *one of his disciples*.

them out of taxes paid for their support, and at the hands of the parish beadle. Their habits of industry and their self-respect are thereby destroyed, while the condition of the remainder of the community is in no way improved, because the quantity of commodities to be consumed is not increased, nor is the number of mouths to be fed diminished. Nor is this all. While productive, under these circumstances, of no single advantage, it is the cause of many and serious evils. The discharge of this hundred men tends to render labor surplus, the consequence of which is a reduction of wages all around, which enables the engine proprietor to make larger profits than before. The general productiveness of labor is lessened—the state of morals is deteriorated—the *proportion* of the capitalist is increased, and the laborer obtains a diminished *proportion* of a diminished product, and with each and every step in this direction there is diminished power to maintain trade, as we shall have occasion to show when we come to examine the actual working of the system advocated by these followers in the steps of Adam Smith, who differ from him in every single idea. Were he now here, he would unite with us in saying that labor-saving machinery is an unmixed good when the labor saved can be applied to increasing the amount of production, because it then tends towards the improvement and equalization of the condition of both laborer and capitalist: but when it cannot be so applied, it is an unmixed evil, because it tends to promote deterioration and inequality in the condition of both, enabling the one to monopolize land and live in splendor, while driving the other to seek a refuge in the tavern and the poor-house.

The great machine is that of production—the Earth. The small machines are those of conversion and exchange, spindles, looms, engines, and ships. In a natural state of things, the savings of labor effected by the latter are useful, because they increase the quantity that may be given to the former; but when the former is monopolized to such an extent that labor cannot find employment upon it, then the only effect of the latter is to give to individuals another monopoly, by aid of which the monopoly of the earth may be increased and extended. The thousand small machines scattered throughout the country, by aid of which their thousand owners and a thousand laborers were ena-

bled to obtain moderate wages, are rendered useless, and the same work is now done by eight or ten steam-engines and a hundred and fifty men, women, and children, occupying the lanes and the cellars of Manchester, and aiding to swell the possessions of men who amass fortunes, purchase land, and perhaps obtain titles. With each step in this direction, land accumulates in fewer hands, voluntary combination diminishes, and with it there is a diminution in the power of production, diminished power on the part of the laborer to control his own actions, and diminished power to maintain trade.

The system is that of centralization, and produces great activity near the heart, with diminution of activity near the extremities; and this effect gradually extends itself throughout the whole system, as will be seen on an examination of the various parts of the British Empire: the result of which will be to show, that colony after colony has been exhausted, whilst at home the little occupant has been gradually sinking into the day-laborer, and passing from that to the condition of a pauper, living at the cost of others, and losing all control over the disposal of his own labor or its products.

With each step in his descent he becomes more and more reckless. Hope leaves him. The whip of the tax-gatherer is deemed necessary to animate him to exertion.* His former habits of sobriety, care and economy disappear, to be replaced by those of drunkenness and waste; and thus it is that, with the diminished productiveness of labor that is necessarily consequent upon the adoption of the modern "free-trade" system, there is a steady deterioration of the moral as well as the physical condition of man. The habit of voluntary association before existing now passes away, and day by day the productive power still further diminishes, with further diminution in the power to maintain trade. We see, thus, that it is in the direction of centralization—in the direction indicated to us by the modern system which leads to the separation of the producer from

* "To the desire of rising in the world, implanted in the breast of every individual, an increase of taxation superadds the fear of being cast down to a lower station, of being deprived of conveniences and gratifications which habit has rendered all but indispensable; and the combined influence of the two principles produces results that could not be produced by the unassisted agency of either."—*M'Culloch*.

the consumer of his products—in that which tends to substitute the territorial for the local division of labor—that we must look for diminution in the freedom of man, and in the power to maintain that commerce with his fellow-man to which Adam Smith referred, and for increased power over their fellow-men on the part of those whose only idea of commerce is expressed in the sentence, “Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market.”

With diminution in the habit of association, and with increase in the tendency towards dispersion, there is increased difficulty in obtaining education, and deterioration of intellectual condition follows in the train of moral and physical deterioration, with further diminution in the productive power, and increased inequality among the various portions of society. The love of peace passes away to be replaced by turbulence and love of discord, with a tendency to combination for the commission of acts of violence, increasing with every step of diminution in the power of self-protection, and in the feeling of independence and self-respect. Production still further diminishes, and the difficulty of accumulating capital to be used in aid of further production increases, while the *proportion* taken by the capitalist steadily increases as its productiveness diminishes, and that claimed by the government as steadily increases, while the productiveness of taxes diminishes, with increased difficulty in obtaining revenue. Increasing weakness on the part of the laborer is followed by weakness on that of the owners of capital, whether employed in land or in trade, and that in turn is followed by weakness on the part of the nation, until at length the whole is involved in one common ruin, the natural result of the adoption of the system of the modern politico-economical school of England, which teaches freedom of trade and leads to the total destruction of the power to maintain trade. Such is now the tenden-

cy, daily increasing, throughout the whole British empire.

It is an order of things that is opposed to “the natural inclination of man.” It is the creation of those purely “human institutions” denounced by Smith as the causes of the existence of the great cities of the earth, built up out of the spoils of the cultivators of the soil, and therefore it is that other nations have been driven to measures of resistance with a view to its annihilation and the establishment of real freedom of trade.

The system described by Adam Smith, and which he fondly desired to see established among men, looked to the concentration of man and the extension of commerce among men, resulting from the growth of the power and the habit of voluntary association, whether for the purpose of peopling the earth, increasing its products, or facilitating the application of labor to the increase of those products, their conversion into forms that fit them for the use of man, or their exchange among men. The nearer men could live to their neighbor men, the greater, as he saw, would be the commerce maintained among themselves, and the greater the power to maintain commerce with distant men.

The system reprobated by Adam Smith, and which his successors fondly desire to see established among men, looks to the dispersion of man, and the diminution of commerce among men and women—land-owners and laborers—producers and consumers—in the vain hope of building up a great trade with distant men while destroying the power to produce commodities in which to trade.

The one looked to an increased amount of trade, resulting from an increased power to trade: the other desires to obtain the same result by increasing the necessity for trade. With the one the best form of society was a true pyramid. With the other it is an inverted one.

MEMORANDA, ETHICAL, CRITICAL, AND POLITICAL.

I.

We forget, in our judgments of others, that virtue is a scale, and not a limit. From social drinking to sottishness, and from a white lie to malignant perjury, the degrees are numberless. Our judgments of men are consequently as incorrect as our estimates of distances by the eye. In theory, the moral law is more exact and absolute than the pure mathematics; but in its applications, of necessity, loose and vague. *Very* good mathematicians, it is said, are rarely good measurers or machinists.

II.

The hardest calumny to bear is the being reviled by a contemptible enemy, for a vice which you feel is accidental to yourself, native to him.

III.

A knave is disgraced by nature; his being detected in villainy is an accident, and changes nothing but opinion.

IV.

Though the advocate be a knave, the cause may be just. Though the preacher be no saint, his precepts may be divine.

V.

Right of property, like right of freedom, seems to have its root in instinct. The bird defends her nest, the dog his kennel, the man his homestead.

VI.

The fool is he who forgets his experience.

VII.

There are three superstitions—of Society, of State, and of Church.

The first reveres Aristocracy.

The second reveres Power.

The third reveres Sanctimony.

There are also three Reverences.

The first is the reverence for Great Men.

The second is the reverence for Law.

The third is the reverence for Truth.

VIII.

Only the honorable man can regain lost honor. The knave cannot regain what he never had. He can only operate on opinion.

IX.

"The poorer classes" are those only who must continue poor, from father to son. With us, then, there are, in strictness, no "poorer classes;" the fathers are poor, but the sons may be rich.

X.

To attain general knowledge through experience of *things*, and high moral principles through experience of one's own passions in dealing with *men*,—is not that the best that we can do for ourselves as intelligences?

XI.

As the most sublime landscape is that which affects us least in the detail, and most powerfully in whole effect, so, perhaps, the grandest character is the farthest removed from peculiarity and eccentricity.

XII.

None can love all alike but the Universal Father; and he who has no country to be jealous for, and no enemy to hate, is either a god, a hypocrite, or a fool.

XIII.

Show me a true patriot, and I will show you that he has both courage, true love, and honor.

XIV.

Though each man has his singular defects, there is an entire virtue in the nation. *I* am deficient, but my countrymen, together, have all the virtues. My country has god-like valor, heroism, irresistible enterprise, and a will that nothing can shake. How then can I fail to revere my country? The great problem of government is to attain a full and perfect representation of the national grandeur in public affairs.

XV.

When the General Government is fearful and vacillating, it no longer represents the virtue and courage of the country.

XVI.

Poetry and the legitimate drama represent the rebellion of the passions against God, or against what the modern philosophers call Reason, the image of God, and the ancients, Fate, and the will of Jove, i. e., the supreme law of the universe.

XVII.

Corrupt poetry and the melodrama represent the triumph of the passions over the supreme law, a triumph purely fictitious.

XVIII.

Great men have usually but one point of grandeur, they illustrate but one law of the universe,—as Will, Justice, Truth. When men suppose that the entire image of God appears in one human form, in its full roundness and infinitude, they deify it.

XIX.

Moral power has light, (*truth*), heat, (*love*), and power, the informing and transforming ray. By this symbol (the sun-beam) Egyptian theology indicated its first or grand trinity.

XX.

It is said that republics are based upon virtue. Would it not express the truth more clearly to say that they are based upon the masculine virtues: strength of individual will, justice, (equality of man and man,) and confidence, a certain consciousness of the agreement of human and Divine intention, in the affairs of this world.

XXI.

If the above is true, the great Republic will stand as long as its affairs are entrusted by the people to men of great strength of will and great justice and self-reliance.

XXII.

Thomas Carlyle has most bitterly insulted and abused the people of America; and yet, for every virtue that he worships the great Republic is a country of heroes. He is a Balaam, who, upon the Ass of English prejudice, prophecies for us against his will.

XXIII.

"There is great difficulty," writes Colonel

Trumbull to General Washington, before Boston, "to support liberty, to exercise government, and maintain subordination, and at the same time prevent the operation of licentious and levelling principles, which many very easily imbibe. "The pulse of a New-England man beats high for liberty; his engagement in the service he thinks purely voluntary; therefore, when the term of enlistment is out, he thinks himself not holden without further engagement. This was the case in the last war. I greatly fear its operation among the soldiers of the other colonies, as I am sensible this is the genius and spirit of our people!" (Letter to Washington. Sparks, I. 164.)

XXIV.

Every man in business may make his own affairs a school of justice, as effectually as any magistrate. Business rests upon good faith (credit); credit is the common bond of all men, superior to all conditions, and to all ranks and relationships. The system of the universe is a system of credit, and there are "days of grace" allowed for perturbations.

XXV.

The acts of great men seem to be creative, as the hand of God is creative, only through the performance of universal laws.

XXVI.

There are some things in which the wisdom of ages cannot instruct us, namely, the form of our government, the profession we should choose, and the friendships we should form.

XXVII.

In order to be right we must go too far and be a little wrong. The patriot must be more than patriotic,—he must be hot and prejudiced for his country; and so, the lover for his mistress, the parent for the children.

XXVIII.

The days of the old thirteen colonies have gone by; we are now not only a nation but an empire; our thoughts, or policy, and our national bearing should therefore be imperial.

XXIX.

Can there be good men who are bad citizens? What if patriotism, warm, full and proud, be an essential element of goodness? We live by our country, more truly than by

our parents; it goes with us and protects us long after they have left us; is not the love of the universal country a sublimer passion than that of child or parent?

XXX.

If the above is true, then we distinguish

the good citizen from the bad by a very simple test. The good citizen carries the laws, or rather those peculiar republican principles from which the laws originate, and by which they are reformed, in his own breast, and he instinctively illustrates them in his life.

TRANSLATION OF THE DEDICATION OF GOETHE'S FAUST.

AGAIN ye come, ye visions fair, but fleeting,
Which in the early morning-tide of life
My earnest boyhood's troubled glances meeting,
Forced on my spirit a perpetual strife.
Shall I attempt to grasp your changeful seeming?
Do I *still* feel my yearning heart inclined
Toward that too dear, but ah! deceptive gleaming
Of phantom bliss more fickle than the wind?

Ye press still on, and ye *may* hold dominion
Over my longing bosom, as ye list,
Rising so lightly on angelic pinion
Out of the silver veil of cloud and mist:
The wizard breath that atmospheres your train
Brings to my heart my youthful years again.

Ye bring with you the thoughts of days Elysian,
And many dear beloved shades appear;
While like an olden, half-expired tradition,
First love and friendship with them, faint, draw near:
The pangs renewed and tender plaints repeating,
The wandering, labyrinthine course of life,
The dear loved names, whom fickle fortune, cheating,
Long time ago has ravished from the strife.

They hear me not, when I am sadly singing,
The souls to whom I sadly sung at first;
The echo of that song no more is ringing,
The friendly throng is now, alas! dispersed.
My sorrow, too, to stranger souls is chiming,
Even whose applause sickens my very heart;
And all who once looked proudly on my rhyming
Live (if they still live in this toiling mart)
Of the great whole a straying, scattered part.

Now seizes me an unaccustomed longing
After that pensive, solemn spirit-day;
It waves even now in half-formed, shadowy thronging,
Æolian harp-like, o'er my lisping lay.
A tremor grasps me, and in tears dissolving,
I feel my austere heart from sternness flee,
What I *have* seen I distantly revolving,
And what is lost becomes reality.

P.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

(Concluded.)

THE attention of the President was now, however, suddenly diverted from the domestic affairs of the nation, to more important matters relating to its intercourse and understanding with foreign governments. While the trial of Burr was in active progress at Richmond, an excitement of a character far different and more intense was raging at the neighboring city of Norfolk, and ere long it had spread its contagious fires from Maine to the Mississippi. It seemed as though some latent torch of the Revolution had recaught its expiring flames, and was again on the point of kindling into a patriotic blaze that defied all extinction save in the blood of our ancient oppressor, now turned into a haughty and insulting enemy. The cause of such emphatic and unanimous hostile demonstrations we shall now proceed to narrate, as prefatory to the most interesting epoch of the Jeffersonian administration, and which cannot be justly passed over in a review intended to reach the whole of Jefferson's public life.

The 22d day of June, 1807, was signalized by an act of aggression and outrage on the rights and honor of the nation, which, even at this distance of time, must excite a feeling of anger and mortification in all American bosoms. For some months previously to this date, a British squadron, under command of Admiral Berkeley, had been anchored near Norfolk, with the expressed intention of enforcing His Britannic Majesty's recent proclamation, requiring all subjects of Great Britain to be forcibly impressed, wherever found on the high seas, into British service. With this view, a demand had been made by the British Consul at Norfolk on Commodore Barron of the frigate Chesapeake, then lying at Norfolk, for four seamen on board his vessel, claimed as deserters from British ships. With the advice and privy of the Cabinet at Wash-

ington, Com. Barron peremptorily refused to comply, assigning as a reason that he had been cautious in making up his crew, and that he had no deserters on board. He then, in obedience to orders, put to sea on his destination to the coast of Barbary, unfit and unprepared, as yet, for sustaining an action, and never dreaming that an attack would be made on him by an armed enemy lying within the jurisdiction of his own government, and in the very eyes of the whole American people. But such did, indeed, actually occur. The Chesapeake had scarcely got out of Hampton Roads, and was yet off Cape Henry, when the British vessel Leopard, of fifty-four guns, detached itself from the Admiral's squadron, and put to sea in pursuit. The Chesapeake was soon overhauled, and the four sailors again formally demanded. The American commander again refused, when the Leopard cleared for action, and forthwith began a heavy fire on the American frigate. Strange to say, the Chesapeake offered not the slightest resistance; but after having stood under the fire of the British guns for near half an hour, losing some thirty men in killed and wounded, besides sustaining heavy damage in her hull, the frigate's colors were struck, and a message was sent to the British commander that the Chesapeake was his prize. An officer from the Leopard came on board, mustered the crew, and having seized the four sailors in question, returned without offering the slightest apology. The Chesapeake was then released, and Commodore Barron, disabled and humiliated, put back into Hampton Roads.

The news of this transaction excited at once the deepest sensation. Indignation meetings were called, and resentful resolutions passed in every town and city, from Passamaquoddy Bay to the Gulf of Mexico; and the whole Union rose as one man to

demand the means of redress at the hands of the Executive. Nor was the administration at all behind the spirit of the nation. Jefferson acted with becoming promptitude, and turned the whole weight of his influence on the popular side. A proclamation was issued, setting forth succinctly and vividly our causes of aggrievance at the hands of the British Government, and peremptorily ordering all armed vessels bearing commission from that power, then within the harbors or waters of the United States, to depart immediately from the same; also interdicting the entrance of all harbors or waters to all vessels, of every description, commissioned by the offending power. Warm responses came in from every quarter. Federalists and Democrats waived their party animosities, and rallied around the administration. The British Minister resident was called upon, but failing to give due satisfaction, dispatches were forthwith sent across the waters, and an explanation demanded at the very doors of the royal palace.

But while this was yet pending, and the American mind still festering and rankling under the atrocious outrage, the British Government rose to a still higher and more insolent pitch of arrogance, and ordered that even merchant vessels, trading peaceably under the guarantee of mutual good understanding, should be stopped and searched for British subjects. And, as if intending to push matters to the extremity, and so far from pausing to redress grievances already alleged, an order in council was adopted yet more destructive to American commerce, pretended as an answer to the recent decree of the French Emperor. But we are anticipating; and in order to proceed intelligibly we must retrace, and, crossing the Atlantic, survey the condition of Europe.

The successes and bold schemes of Napoleon were, at this time, the source of absorbing interest to the civilized world. His coronation as Emperor had been followed immediately by the great battle of Austerlitz, which had prostrated Austria at his feet, and reduced the Czar of Russia to so humiliating a condition as ended in the total disruption of his confraternity with the Germanic powers. The battle of Jena, fought in October of the succeeding year, demolished Prussia, and placed her capital in the conqueror's hands. Elated with this important victory, Napoleon now meditated the

most gigantic and startling ideas ever put forth. The whole continent of Europe was now under his influence; and the world beheld the singular spectacle of a solitary island power, with a population of scarce twenty millions, and protected by the ocean alone, boldly struggling against a despotism which looked, and seemed likely to attain, to universal dominion. The orders in council, adopted in the month of May previous, had established what was derisively termed a *paper blockade* along the entire coast of France and Germany, from Brest to the mouth of the Elbe. As this order forbade all commerce to neutrals, in defiance of international law, and was aimed especially against France, Napoleon, seated in the royal palace of Berlin, burning with resentment against England, and filled with the idea of *conquering the sea by the land*, indited and promulgated the famous decree of November 21st—the first of that series of measures afterwards known as his continental system. It declared the British islands in a state of blockade, and prohibited *all commerce* and *intercourse* with them. But it is worthy of remark, that Gen. Armstrong, our Minister at Paris, was officially notified that the Berlin decree was not to be enforced against American commerce, which was still to be governed by the rules of the treaty established between France and the United States. This significant exception aroused the jealousy of England, and her ministry were impelled into a policy that closed all avenues to a friendly adjustment of the difficulties already existing between her Government and ours. The orders in council, adopted on the 11th of November, 1807, as retaliatory of the Berlin decree, contained provisions which bore intolerably hard on American commerce. Among the most odious of these, was that which condemned all neutral vessels which had not first paid a *transit duty* in some *English port* before proceeding on their destinations; thus bringing the merchandise of neutrals within the limits of the Berlin decree, as also of that of Milan, which soon followed, and in which Napoleon *denationalized all vessels* sailing from any English port, or which had submitted to be searched.

From a calm consideration of these retaliatory documents, thus promulgated by the two great belligerent powers, it is evident that had any American vessels put to sea

after December of 1807, or during the winter and spring of 1808, they would inevitably have been sacrificed;—those bound to France or her dependencies, to British, and those bound for the British dominions, to French cruisers. And this leads us, having thus succinctly premised, to the consideration of the great measure of Jefferson's second administration. It will be understood, of course, that we allude to the Embargo,—a restrictive law of Congress, recommended by the Executive, withdrawing the whole American commerce from the ocean.

Now that the excitement and evil passions of those eventful times have died away, or been absorbed in other questions more intensely interesting and momentous, we may calmly review the causes and the justification of this much abused measure. It must be remembered that the last war with England dates its origin to the disputes which began in 1804. During this year, the Jay treaty with England, effected in 1794, under the administration of Washington, and which had bred serious dissensions at the time of its adoption, between the friends and enemies of the then Executive, had expired by its own limitation. Jefferson had been one of its earliest and most inveterate opponents, had denounced it as crouching, submissive, incomplete; and now, in the day of his power, refused the overtures of the British ministry to renew it for the period of even two years. In consequence of this refusal, and in view of the serious inconveniences arising from the absence of any international compact, Mr. Monroe was dispatched to England as an adjunct with Mr. Pinckney in promoting satisfactory negotiations and adjustment. After many long conferences and tedious correspondence, these commissioners agreed on a treaty which contained satisfactory clauses as concerned the rights of commerce, and of free trade, and of paper blockades—all prominent grounds of discordance. But in regard to the all-engrossing subject of *impressment*, they had been enabled to obtain only a sort of bond or certificate from the British ministers, unengrafted on the treaty, and scarcely dignified even with the uncertain name of protocol, declaring that, although his Britannic Majesty could not *disclaim* or *derogate* from this *right*, yet that instructions should be given to all British commanders to be *cautious*, in its exercise, not to molest or injure the citizens of the

United States, and that prompt redress should *always* be made in case injury was sustained. The treaty, with this appendage signed by the British negotiators, was concluded in December, 1806. It was sent over immediately to Mr. Erskine, the English minister resident in the United States, and by him submitted to Jefferson and his Cabinet. The omission of a special treaty stipulation concerning *impressment* was deemed a fatal error; and taking the ground that any succeeding ministry might, at pleasure, *withdraw* the paper accompanying the treaty, Jefferson, on his own responsibility, and independent of any action on the part of the Senate, then in session, sent it back as rejected. We must believe that Jefferson's interpretation of this paper (a stranger, any way, to the diplomatic world) was correct; but at the same time we incline to the opinion that, in view of the magnitude of the subjects in issue, and of the momentous results involved, it was his duty to have sought the advice of the Senate, two thirds of which body, and the President, constitute, under our government, the only treaty-making power.

The questions at issue, thus adjourned and unadjusted, added to the fact that no treaty existed between the two countries, led to many other disputatious differences. The treaty had scarcely been returned to the negotiators in London, thus black-marked by the American Executive, before the offensive proclamation of the British monarch, already alluded to, was widely promulgated. The affair of the Leopard and the Chesapeake soon followed, and then came the orders in Council, and the Berlin and Milan decrees, all widening the breach betwixt our own and the British Government, and throwing us in a state of *quasi* hostility with France. Under these circumstances only two courses were left for the American Government to adopt, viz., war with both the great belligerent powers, or an embargo. The first of these, in our then enfeebled state, would have been a mad as well as a most ridiculous course. Besides, no adequate cause for war existed against France, who had actually gone far to show herself our friend. The history of the times proves, that however severe the Berlin and Milan decrees may have been in their effects on American commerce, they were yet allowable precautionary and retaliatory measures, the consequents

of England's atrocious and unparalleled conduct. With regard to us, England was the only aggressive power; and it was not until our interests clashed directly with the provisions of the imperial decrees as they bore against England, that France gave us the least cause of complaint or offence. Then, indeed, in the plenitude of his power, Napoleon committed outrages on America which left us no alternative but unfriendliness. But to have submitted, as Jefferson himself justly argued, to pay England the tribute on our commerce demanded by her orders in council, would have been to aid her in the war against France, and given Napoleon just ground for declaring war against the United States. The state of this country, thus situated as to the two belligerent powers, was therefore exceedingly embarrassing. It required the skill of an unshrinking, but a discerning and discriminating pilot, to steer clear of overwhelming difficulties. That pilot was eminently fulfilled in the person of Thomas Jefferson; who, with a sagacity that rarely failed him, adopted promptly the only remaining alternative of an embargo.

On the 18th of December, 1807, accordingly, Jefferson communicated the Berlin decree, the correspondence betwixt Gen. Armstrong and Champagny, the French Minister, and the proclamation of George the Third, to the two Houses of Congress, together with a message, as before intimated, recommending such measures as he deemed necessary for the protection of American commerce. The Embargo Act was immediately introduced, carried through both Houses by large and significant majorities, and took effect on the 23d of the same month. It had scarcely become a law, before it encountered the most factious, violent, and well-directed opposition ever before exhibited. The whole Federal press, from New-Hampshire to Georgia, raised its hand to beat it down, and thundered forth volleys of abuse and vituperation. It was denounced as oppressive, tyrannical, and wicked; as having been dictated by Napoleon; as a sacrifice of the dearest interests of the nation, and as unconstitutional. The clamor which had assaulted the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 was nothing to that which now poured its indignant torrents on Congress and the Executive. The entire cordons of Eastern States were kindled into the

most appalling and intense excitement. The columns and segments of mystic flame which irradiated their northern horizon, seemed to glow with increased lustre, as if doubly reflected from the fires which burned and roared beneath. The most monstrous and improbable cause was assigned as the justification of this ferocious and ruthless opposition. The embargo was reprobated as a measure intended to combine the South and West for the ruin of the East. The more that unprincipled demagogues and silly enthusiasts repeated the declaration, the more fervently it was believed by honest people, too mad or too ignorant to be pacified with reason or truth. Ships were angrily pointed to, rotting at the wharves of Boston and of Newport. Idle, drunken sailors, in reeling hordes, clamored for employment, swearing that they could exist only on the seas, and that they were unfit for aught else but reefing sails or manning halyards. Wharfingers and shipbuilders united in a common chorus of discontent. Merchants, from behind their groaning counters, sent forth grumbling calls for relief; and seemed willing to sell themselves, their piles of goods, and their country to the common enemy, could they only obtain release from the embargo, and fill the hostile seas with their commerce. At length, dark hints of meditated *treason* were whispered about, and stunned the ears of Jefferson and his Cabinet. The crime which had just been charged against Aaron Burr, and on the mere *suspicion* of which he had been placed by an angry Government on a trial for his life, was now openly advocated, and the opposition prints teemed with threats of *dissolving the Union*. Then it was that Jefferson's own bad teachings and mischievous principles were hurled mercilessly at his own government. The pernicious ultraisms of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of '98 rose scowlingly and warningly to his vision, and would not "down" at any "bidding." He had condemned and ridiculed the means used by Washington to suppress the Whiskey Insurrection in '94; and it seemed now as though the "poisoned chalice" had been "commended to his own lips." He had defended and justified the Shay Rebellion of '87, declaring that "no country could preserve its liberties unless its rulers were warned from time to time that the people preserved the power of resistance,

and washed the tree of liberty in the blood of patriots and tyrants." That *resistance* was now everywhere and undisguisedly preached; the *people* were invited to join in a crusade against the *rulers*, and, in case of a rupture, it seemed not unlikely that the *blood* of the first apostle of Nullification and Secession would be first offered as a propitiatory sacrifice on the altars of *dissolution*. So sure it is, that the evil counsels of selfish and unrestrained ambition will recoil, in an unexpected hour, and cover their propagator with confusion and dismay!

But notwithstanding this factious clamor and insane opposition, a calm consideration of the circumstances and situation of the country, at the period in question, will lead us to the conclusion that the embargo was a wise, salutary, and prudent measure. It was the only available or practicable remedy against the withering policy of England and France, then engaged in a war of extinction. But at the same time it is not to be denied that, as a measure of coercion to obtain redress from foreign powers, and to be continued until such redress was obtained, it certainly was a most severe, and, we may add, bold experiment on the interests as well as on the patience of an active and enterprising people. If, however, the embargo had not been adopted; if American vessels had been suffered, as of yore, to put forth on the high seas, it as certainly is not to be denied but what they would have been universally seized and confiscated. This would have produced unprecedented bankruptcy. Insurance offices and mercantile houses would have been speedily engulfed in hopeless ruin; and scenes of calamity and distress, only equalled by the explosion of Law's famous Mississippi bubble in the beginning of the eighteenth century, would have pervaded this Union from one extreme to the other. The plunder of our ships and the captivity of our seamen would have operated to augment the resources of the belligerents, and enfeeble ourselves. We should thus have suffered all the worst consequences of war, without the chance of obtaining any of its compensatory advantages. Under these circumstances, it was evidently more politic that our vessels should remain at our wharves, the property of our merchants, than that they should be carried to England or France, the prey of pirates and of privateers. Besides this, by unfettering Ameri-

can commerce at such a time, with the risk of having our ships seized and ruthlessly sequestered, we would have been pursuing a course eminently calculated to multiply the difficulties already existing as barriers to a good understanding and amicable relations with the hostile powers over the water. We should again, as in the case of the Chesapeake with England, and of the Horizon with France, have been reduced to the mortification of negotiating for reparation in vain. We should have been ultimately goaded into a fierce war, after having been defeated in our endeavors to escape it, and deprived of the most efficient means for its prosecution.

The charge of French influence in connection with the embargo was confidently attributed to Jefferson at the time, and Federal writers continue to urge it to this day. But the charge has never been adequately proven, and cannot, we think, be at all sustained. That Jefferson cordially despised England and its Government we do not doubt; nor does he anywhere attempt to conceal his dislike. Nor do we doubt but that his sympathies were in favor of France, from the beginning of the struggle in 1792, to its melancholy close after the battle of Waterloo in 1815. He retained, to his dying hour, lively and cherished recollections of his residence in that country. He had known and been intimately associated with all her leading statesmen and warriors. He had formed social attachments in the hospitable circles of Paris that outlived absence and survived separation. He had been domesticated in France during the opening scenes of her eventful strife with England, and while yet the memory of British outrages during the struggle for American independence was fresh and green. He had, therefore, imbibed the double hatred of American and of Frenchman against British arrogance and British pretensions. These feelings were rife within his bosom when he came home from his mission, and had been fanned and sedulously nurtured throughout the whole eight years of Washington's administration. They were not smothered in his subsequent fierce conflicts with the Federal party, and his arduous competition for the Presidency with the elder Adams. And now that he was at last on that eminence which crowned his towering ambition, and had been long the

goal of his ardent aspirations, it was not likely that, as regarded the interesting attitudes which marked the two great hostile powers of Europe during his administrative career, he should forget his early prejudices against England, or his strong prepossessions in favor of France. But we have been unable to satisfy our minds that he was actuated by undue influences in the adoption of his foreign policy. The history of his whole official conduct in connection with the Embargo, the Non-intercourse Act, and his diplomatic dealings with the belligerents, shows that he acted as became an American President, and lifts him triumphantly above all unworthy imputations. Throwing aside all other considerations, Jefferson was not a man to bear being dictated to, even by Napoleon. He felt the influence and power of his high official station, and showed that he felt them. It was rather his weakness to believe that he could coerce and dictate to France, knowing, as he did, the deep anxiety of Napoleon to enlist the United States as his ally against England. And, indeed, the French Emperor, even while committing outrages on American vessels, pleaded *necessity* as his apology; and while throwing the whole blame on the British ministry, plied the American Executive with artful and flattering laudations. With this view, Napoleon, unconsciously playing into the hands of Jefferson's Federal opponents at home, affected to consider the embargo as a friendly interposition on behalf of the American Government to aid his continental system,—a system professedly devised to humble and weaken English ocean dominion. In the saloons and reception-rooms of the Tuilleries he made a show of boasting of the United States as his ally, and constantly and publicly assured Gen. Armstrong, our Minister, of his great respect and friendship for the American people and their Government. "The Americans," said the French Minister, speaking for the Emperor, "a people who involve their fortunes, their prosperity, and almost their existence in commerce, have given the example of a great and courageous sacrifice. They have prohibited, by a general embargo, all commerce and navigation, rather than submit to that tribute which the English impose. The Emperor applauds the embargo as a wise measure." (Pitkin's Statistics, p. 385.)

This speech was, of course, directly com-

municated to the President of the United States, and speedily finding its way into the newspapers, was seized upon and turned against Jefferson and the embargo, as *prima facie* evidence of a collusion with the French Emperor. There is every cause to believe, as well from his own letter in answer to the one communicating the above, as from other circumstances, that this commendation of Napoleon was exceedingly grateful and pleasant to Jefferson; and there can be no doubt that, in his public communications relative to our foreign affairs, he sought to inculpate England far more than France. He regarded England as the first and principal aggressor on the rights of America, while France was reluctantly involved, and forced to retaliate that she might preserve her own integrity against the insidious and ruthless policy of the British ministry. The object of the President was, then, especially in view of his unquestioned predilections, to turn popular indignation mainly against the first power, and leave the conduct of the French Government palliated by the unanswerable plea of stern *necessity*. It must, therefore, have been deeply mortifying to Jefferson, when dispatches reached him of Napoleon's sudden change of mind in regard to the operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees; declaring that America should be no longer exempted, that she should be *forced* to become either his ally or his enemy; that there should be no *neutrals* in the contest betwixt himself and the British; and that all vessels belonging to American merchants then lying in the ports of France should be condemned and confiscated. It is said that this news had reached Jefferson in an authenticated form, anterior to the delivery of his embargo message; and his enemies charge him with having wilfully kept back this important paper (a letter from Gen. Armstrong) solely with a view to relieve France from the storm of anger and indignation which was gathering against England. Jefferson has not explained this, and his friends have been silent also. If he had received such news, it was, undoubtedly, his duty to have communicated the same to Congress along with the offensive orders in council and the Berlin decree. It may have been, and most probably was his motive, to give Napoleon time to get over his passion and retrace his steps before throwing himself irrevocably in opposition to his former

conciliatory policy. It was well known that when Bonaparte heard of the last order in council, and while preparing to fulminate his Milan decree in retaliation, he had openly said, "that he could not doubt but that the United States would now immediately declare war against England, and become his associate." On learning that war had not been declared, Napoleon became exasperated; and although, for the reason that he might better justify his outrages, he afterwards professed to be pleased with the embargo, he resolved from that day to adopt a policy that might, it was hoped, *coerce* the Americans to become his allies. It will be thus perceived that Napoleon shifted his policy three times, and in very short intervals. Jefferson may very naturally have been embarrassed; but on learning that Napoleon had ordered the confiscation of American vessels, he forthwith communicated the letter of Gen. Armstrong to Congress, leaving them to take the proper retaliatory course. The Embargo Act was well intended, and ought to have been made a powerful weapon in procuring redress from England. We give Jefferson all due credit for recommending it in lieu of war, which was not then practicable. But he was highly culpable on account of his imbecility and vacillation in enforcing it, even after having been invested with the fullest powers by Congress. Properly carried out, the embargo would have greatly incommoded the English colonies in obtaining the necessities of life, and would have injured her trade and naval power by withholding supplies of raw material and stores. But it was most flagitiously violated. The greatest license was given to smugglers and contraband dealers; and these made rapid and unhallowed fortunes at the expense of the honest and law-abiding citizens. Its deleterious effects were thus most severely felt at home, and were impotent to conduce and force the beneficial consequences from abroad so confidently predicted. It failed in a great measure to answer its main objects, and failed as much in consequence of Jefferson's imbecility and lethargy, as of the factious, disorganizing, and Jacobinical clamors which pealed in from the Eastern States. An impartial judgment must pronounce, therefore, unfavorably as concerns the conduct of the President in this instance. That conduct would justify a very harsh sentence at the

hands of an independent disquisitor; and that sentence would be, that while Jefferson was bold to originate, intolerant and obstinate in the exercise of power when conscious of being sustained, he was yet faint-hearted and time-serving when assaulted by popular clamor and denunciation. It will be readily conjectured that the embargo could not stand long under such circumstances. It was accordingly repealed on the first of March, 1809. It was stamped in the dust by Federal rancor, and consigned by its enemies to unmerited infamy. And although its action was countervailed by the imbecility of its friends and the opposition of its enemies, its failure is attributed alone to its intrinsic insufficiency and to its so-called iniquitous conception. It is even now pointed to as one of the errors and weaknesses of Jefferson's vicious administration. And yet it was sanctioned by illustrious precedent—another proof that its failure in 1807 was attributable to the bad conduct of its enemies and to the bad management of its friends. It had been authorized to a much fuller extent in 1794, and was sanctioned as a wise measure equally by Federalists and Democrats. Washington had, in fact, been empowered to lay an embargo whenever *he* should think the public safety required it, and to take what course *he pleased* to enforce it. (Vide Olive Branch, pp. 138, 139, 140.) This discretionary power was conferred, and this dictatorial privilege given, at a time much less portentous and critical than in 1807. And it answered its full purpose; because, thus empowered, it was known that Washington was a man who would *act*, if occasion should require. He had shown this in his whole public conduct, and quite recently and effectively in forcibly suppressing the Whiskey Insurrection. The embargo ceased, or was raised, on the first of March. It was succeeded by an act declaring *non-intercourse* with both the hostile powers. England felt it severely; and under less exciting circumstances, or in the absence of other causes of difference than mere commercial discordances, it would doubtless have led to an amicable adjustment. As it was, the Erskine arrangement came very near succeeding. But Napoleon was exasperated on hearing of its passage beyond all reasonable bounds, and vented his fury in offensive reproaches and incoherent taunts to the American Minister resident. At this

time, however, ceased also Jefferson's official connection with the government. He retired from the Presidency on the fourth day of March, 1809, and was succeeded by Mr. Madison. It is not, therefore, legitimately within the objects of this review to pursue further a history of governmental affairs. We pause on the verge of the war, and must leave the interested reader to search the pages of his histories for further satisfaction, hoping that we have succeeded in pointing out to him a proper clew to the elicitation of hitherto neglected branches.

After retiring from the Presidency, Monticello became the permanent residence of Jefferson. He never afterwards appeared on the stage of political action. His time was quietly spent in superintending the business of his farms, in the pursuit of literature and science, and in familiar correspondence with his numerous friends. The Virginia University, however, soon became a pampered *hobby*, and enlisted his ardent interest and sympathy. He lived to see it flourish under his fostering care; and it yet continues to flourish, a noble monument of his public spirit and laudable enterprise of character.

One other subject now began to engage his reflections seriously and deeply. It was that of religion—the *Christian* religion. He never thought it worth while seriously to investigate the claims or merits of any other. Compared with the religion of Christ, that of the Jews or of Mahomet was, in his estimation, mere superstition or gross imposture. At the same time, it is quite apparent that he had studied closely both the ancient and modern systems, with a view to compare them with the religion of Jesus. For many long years, in the midst of political bustle as well as in the quiet of retirement, did Jefferson devote his thoughts to serious meditations and minute inquiries on this important subject. The fourth volume of his correspondence abounds with letters on Christianity, and unfolds beyond any question the religious opinions of its distinguished author. We hesitate not to say that his inquiries ended with a firm and total disbelief in the divine inspiration of the Bible. He argued an entire dissimilarity between the God of the Old Testament and the Supreme Being taught by Jesus; viewing the first as an angry, a bloodthirsty, and vindictive being—the last as merciful,

forbearing, just, and paternally inclined. He denounces the doctrines of Moses, but extols those of Jesus. He looked on Jesus as a *man* only—the most excellent and pure that ever lived, but still no part or essence of Divinity. The doctrine of the Trinity was to him an incomprehensible and inexplicable mysticism—too refined, too inconsistent with the weakness of human understanding, and too subtle to have been inculcated by so plain and unsophisticated a teacher as Jesus Christ. He admits that it is more than probable that Jesus thought himself the subject of divine inspiration; because it was a belief incident to his education, and common among the Jews, that men were often inspired by God. But he denies that Jesus anywhere attempts to *impose* himself on mankind as the Son of God. The four Gospels were regarded by him as inaccurate and exaggerated biographies of some lofty-minded and splendid character, whose conceptions were too towering for the “feeble minds” of his “*grovelling*” companions. (See p. 326, vol. IV.) “We find,” he says in the letter referred to, “in the writings of his biographers, matter of two distinct descriptions. First, a groundwork of vulgar ignorance, of things impossible, of superstitions, fanaticisms, and fabrications. Intermixed with these, again, are sublime ideas of the Supreme Being, aphorisms and precepts of the purest morality and benevolence, sanctioned by a life of humility, innocence, and simplicity of manners, neglect of riches, absence of worldly ambition and honors, with an eloquence and persuasiveness that have not been surpassed. . . . Can we be at a loss in separating such materials, and ascribing each to its genuine author?” In a letter to John Adams on the same subject, found on page 240, volume fourth, our author says again: “The Christian priesthood, finding the doctrines of Jesus levelled to every understanding, and too plain to need explanation, saw in the *mysticisms* of Plato materials with which they might build up an *artificial* system, which might, from its indistinctness, admit of everlasting controversy, give *employment* to their *order*, and introduce it to *profit*, *power* and *pre-eminence*. The doctrines which flowed from the lips of Jesus himself are within the comprehension of a child; but *thousands of volumes* have not yet explained the Platonisms engrafted on them: and

for this obvious reason, that *nonsense* can never be explained."

And again, the letter to Dr. Rush, found in volume third, on page 506, holds this language: "I am, indeed, opposed to the corruptions of Christianity, but not to the *genuine precepts* of Jesus himself. I am a Christian in the *only* sense in which *he* wished any one to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines in preference to all others; ascribing to himself every *human* excellence, and believing he never claimed *any other*." The last extract we shall quote is found on page 349, vol. fourth, in a letter to Dr. Waterhouse: "Had the doctrines of Jesus been *preached* always as pure as they came from his lips, the whole civilized world would now have been Christian. I rejoice that in this blessed country of free inquiry and belief, which has surrendered its creed and its conscience to neither kings nor priests, the genuine doctrine of *one only* God is reviving; and I trust that there is not a *young man* now living in the United States who will not die an *Unitarian*. But much I fear, that when this *great truth* shall be re-established, its votaries will fall into the fatal error of fabricating formulas of creed and confessions of faith, the engines which so soon *destroyed* the religion of Jesus, and made of Christendom a mere *Aceldama*; that they will give up *morals* for *mysteries*, and Jesus for Plato."

These extracts fully confirm the analysis of Jefferson's religious views we have given on a preceding page, and leave no doubt of their character or extent. He admired the *morality* of Christ's teachings, but denied the divinity both of system and of teacher. The apostles and their writings met with no favor from Jefferson. He speaks of them more than once "as a band of *impostors*, of whom Paul was the great *Coryphæus*;" and we have abundant evidence to show that he doubted not only the genuineness of the Pentateuch and of the prophecies, but of the whole writings of the Old Testament. Still we cannot consent that Jefferson shall be ranked as an infidel, as most of the orthodox world demand. He protests himself against such a sentence, and we have been unable to detect such tendency in his writings. He admired and adopted Christianity as an inimitable and unsurpassed system of morality, and inculcates and defends its principles. But he examined

its merits and viewed its transcendent teachings through the medium of reason and plain common sense. Where these stopped, and where the foggy empire of *faith* began, there he abruptly halted. His mind was so constituted as neither to be terrified by dogmas, nor seduced by imaginary beauties, and illusive, speculative mental vagaries. He regarded the tenets of Calvin with ineffable and undisguised abhorrence. The doctrine of *one* God, indivisible and indissoluble, made into *three* parts, and these three parts yet *one* only,—a Unity made Trinity at pleasure, or to suit particular cases; the doctrine of *moral necessity*,—the necessity of the eternal perdition of one part for the salvation of another part of mankind, and for the perfect glory of God; and the doctrines of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, and of the mystical incarnation of Jesus Christ, he had taught himself to regard as mere fanciful theories of a selfish priesthood, designed only to establish and support an independent "order" of clergy. A theory that announced as its basis incomprehensibility and infinitude, yet attempting to explain and elucidate acknowledged mysteries; which claimed reason in defence, and denounced it as unlawful in antagonists; which shuts out free inquiry, and seeks shelter from human efforts within the untrodden precincts of an inexplicable and undefinable *faith*; which proscribes doubt, interdicts examination, denounces as blasphemous the exercise of judgment, and intrenches itself in dogmatism and prejudice; which claims to be infallible, yet teaches the consistency of sectarianism,—such a theory*and such religion were totally rejected by one accustomed to such bold latitude of thought and severe mental discipline as Thomas Jefferson. It is no part of our task, nor is it our inclination, to examine the correctness or the fallacy of these views. But when reviewing so important a subject, and the character of so distinguished a personage, we feel bound, in candor, to give both the subject and the character the full advantage of undisguised array. Such were the private and well "digested" religious opinions of Jefferson, and by such, fairly set forth, he must be judged. It would be unfair to expose him to censure, while smothering the *grounds* of his belief or disbelief. And if, in the perusal of these pages, any reader shall feel aggrieved on any point of conscience by this *exposé* of our

author's doubts and skepticisms, let him, while preparing to grasp the vengeful dart, pause and reflect, that many as good and great, if not *better* and *greater* than Thomas Jefferson, have been honestly perplexed by like doubts, and mystified by like skepticisms.

The volumes before us close with the celebrated "Ana." As a material part of the memoirs of one of the leading representative men of America, it should not be passed over lightly or inadvertently. We view its character, contents, and objects as forming quite a suspicious feature in the public character of our distinguished subject. We shall not aver that it is unfair or unallowable to treasure what we may casually hear in the course of general conversation among distinguished personages, with a view to profit by the same in making up an estimate of character and principle. We believe that free conversation is the surest index to honestly conceived opinions. It is the apposite and quick expression of thoughts induced by reading, or by previous casual reflection—the more to be relied on, inasmuch as it is usually unprompted by cold calculation, and is unrestrained by policy or timidity. But to note down table talk at dinings, evening parties, and at cabinet consultations in difficult, novel, and trying times, as Jefferson has done in his *Ana*, is not only culpable, but is violative of all rules which govern free social and political intercourse. During the administrations of Washington, republicanism was in its infancy, and the government in its chrysalis state. The hopes of freemen were suspended on a thread. The capacity of the people for self-government was an untried experiment. The best and the wisest were doubters; and among these was Washington himself. Hamilton was an open and professed skeptic, and did not scruple to declare, as his firm opinion, that monarchy was the most reliable form of government. Old John Adams believed the same way, and even James Madison indulged apprehensions. But all of these had resolved that the experiment should have a fair trial. Hamilton was urgent and strenuous in his advocacy of the policy, and joined with Madison and Jay in producing a series of papers remarkable for ability and power in support of a popular form of government, and of the Constitution. These papers were embodied

into a volume which has attained to a world-wide celebrity under the name of the "Federalist." And yet it is principally to defame Adams and Hamilton that Jefferson indited the *Ana*, although every member of Washington's administration came in for a full share of espionage. Indeed, if Jefferson is to be regarded as a credible and an unbiased witness, the fathers of the government, excepting Madison and himself, must have been the most corrupt and selfish cabal of politicians that ever disgraced the history of any country. He spares Washington, truly, but in a manner not very complimentary to the intellect of that illustrious and venerable personage. He represents him as having, indeed, a good heart, but a weak, vacillating head; as being entirely under the influence of Federal advisers, and as indecisive and wavering in time of action.

But it is altogether unfair to judge either Hamilton or his associates by opinions expressed at the time in question, especially on the subject of popular government. The experiment, fairly tried under their auspices, was incontestably proven and demonstrated; and, like all demonstrations, carried conviction. Its proof was unquestionable. Washington modified his original views so far as to admit its practicability, but died seriously doubting its permanency. Hamilton's conduct evinced his satisfaction at the result, in the undeviating support he gave to the judicial and popular branches of the government. The election of Jefferson to the Presidency, a few years afterward, showed a general confidence in the success of the scheme, and the acquiescence of the Federalists, then one of the most formidable and powerful parties that ever existed, was the clearest evidence of the triumph of republicanism.

Under these circumstances, and being cognizant of these facts, we can find no excuse for the author of the *Ana* in thus noting down and publishing conversations uttered at an unsettled and a trying period of political affairs; and when opinions, far from being firmly fixed, were hastily formed, according to the ever shifting complexion of the experiment, and expressed less with a view to convince or persuade, than to elicit information. We confess to an instinctive distrust of talk-gatherers. When we find or hear of a politician mingling in social circles, or among his adversaries

around the festive board, listening attentively to conversation, while cautiously and rarely giving utterance to his own opinions, and then noting down or retailing the results of his observation, we feel an involuntary apprehension of mischief, and are inclined strongly to suspect foul play. By this rule we are constrained to judge Jefferson in this instance. That he squared his conduct, in after days, from the notes and information thus suspiciously gleaned, is quite evident both from his unrelenting jealousy of Hamilton, and from his remorseless persecution of Aaron Burr.

In view of this, as well as of other cogent reasons, it might have been supposed that a relative, justly proud of his distinguished ancestor's fame, would have spared the readers of his book the mortification of perusing these unpleasant revelations—the evidences of an aspiring and a jealous mind, resorting to a most questionable and unworthy *espionage* in working out the overthrow of unwary adversaries. But the *candor* of Mr. T. J. Randolph was stern proof against all prudential suggestions or delicate considerations. A very natural and pardonable unwillingness to reduce the profits of his work, and to lop off the main value of his grandfather's bequest, may also have had some influence in scotching his candor against the invitations of delicacy and prudence. Nothing, however, is more certain than that the publication of the *Ana* has operated to detract largely from the private character of Jefferson, and to tarnish his claims to fair play and candid opposition in political warfare. We may, then, safely assert, that while Mr. Randolph very prudently counted the cost of suppression as weighed against the profits of publication, the memory of his illustrious and venerable ancestor has expiated dearly the fruits of his speculation.

Our task is completed. We have now little else to do than briefly to sum up the prominent representative features in the character of our distinguished subject, and then to leave the merits of our review to the impartial judgment of the reader.

The influences of Jefferson's character have been sensibly impressed on the people of this country from the dawn of the Revolution to the present hour; and they have been, and continue to be, secondary alone to those of Washington. Our conclusion has been that his influence has produced

baneful and most deprecative effects on the moral tone of our political world. His opposition to all the essential features of the Constitution, and to our present form of government, was deep-rooted, insidious, and unceasing. His political and governmental theories were eminently and dangerously Jacobinical. Deeply tinctured with the ascetic and disorganizing principles of the French Revolution, he worshipped an ideal of democracy that bordered on downright Utopianism. On all points touching the practicability or durability of popular governments, he was almost fanatically radical and ultra. He advocated the largest reservations of power in favor of the people in their collective capacity, and the most unlimited right of suffrage. He mistrusted and denounced the well-guarded prerogatives of our federal Executive, and grumbled at the least *restraining* exercise of even delegated power. And yet, during his own Presidency, his practice afforded a most singular contrast to his theories, as we think we have abundantly shown in the preceding pages. No President was ever so peremptory in demanding to be intrusted with hazardous and questionable powers, and none so arbitrary as regarded manifest infractions of the Constitution. He openly defied and overruled judicial authority; suggested to his Congress the enactment of laws whose operation threatened a violent severance of the Union; demanded and obtained a severe enforcing act; invaded the Treasury at will to aid his policy or to gratify his caprices; and boldly assumed a stretch of executive power, without precedent or parallel, by rejecting, at his single discretion, a treaty that ought to have been submitted to the Senate as required by the Constitution, and especially while that body was in session.

As the founder and leader of the Democratic party, and the consequent promoter, originally, of the fierce party dissensions which have since distracted the country, we are forced to pronounce the representative example of Jefferson pernicious beyond computation. We regard the influence and progress of that party as eminently deleterious to the political welfare of the Union, and as the incipient step and prime mover towards a severance of the States—if, indeed, that calamity shall ever befall us. Their disorganizing and pestilential teach-

ings began with the very dawn of the government. The democratic members of the Convention which formed the Constitution maintained, during its session, an active correspondence with Jefferson on each and every element proposed as its basis. Their cabals and caucuses were as frequent as the meetings of the Convention. Their efforts were directed to the adoption and introduction of Jacobinical features calculated to countervail and to mar all that was practical, or that looked to durableness. Regarding society more as it ought to be, than it is, or ever has been, or is ever likely to be; seduced by theories more plausible than solid; applying to a free elective government, deriving all its powers and authorities from the voice of the people, maxims and precautions calculated for the meridian of monarchy; they turned all their views and directed all their influence towards depreciating and weakening the Federal Government. Against this, as the Hydra-headed monster of all their professed apprehensions, their combined batteries of talent and of national influence were solely directed. Had they prevailed, the General Government would have been completely shorn of all its efficiency; and mankind would have been treated with the singular spectacle of a powerful and growing people, belonging in classes to thirteen separate and independent sovereignties, seeking a precarious union in an instrument allied with anarchy and founded in the grossest radicalism. But what they failed to obtain directly, they have contrived and managed to effect indirectly, with almost perfect success. The history of the country has clearly shown that the root of evil and the elements of destruction lie, not in the Federal Government, but in perverted construction of the rights and powers of the State Governments, and supposed reservations to the people. To secure the ascendancy and popularity of this doctrine, the Democratic leaders have fallen on any and every species of party tactics, as cases or circumstances warranted. They have resorted, alternately, to a latitudinous construction of the Federal Constitution, and to a strict construction; first, they have contended for restriction, and then for unlimited extension of federal power; first closing the door to all constitutional admission of foreign territory, and then abruptly breaking down every barrier to acquisition

and conquest, and bringing in *new States* formed out of territory reaching from the tropic of Cancer to the fiftieth parallel of north latitude, washed severally by the waves of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. With Jesuitical unscrupulousness, they have pursued their ambitious ends, little regardless of the means used for the accomplishment. Consistency has been reckoned a virtue only so long as it accorded with expediency. Principle has been made the handmaiden of policy. Party and power have been the watchwords through all phases of political or sectional differences, and among all the strifes of ambitious and aspiring rulers. And, as the crowning point of their incongruous system, it may be stated as a remarkable and an instructive fact, that the Democratic party, while using the whole enginery of political power to hang Burr for *suspected* designs against the *Union*, and while threatening the *Nullifiers* with the cannon of the General Government, has yet been the apologist for every popular outbreak and revolutionary movement, from the time of the Massachusetts insurrection to the Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island. The connection of Thomas Jefferson with all these disorganizing principles has been sufficiently explained in the foregoing pages. We regard him as the master-spirit of former mischievous inculcations, and his influence as the main prompting cause of all succeeding political malversations of "the progressive Democracy." In fact, and at the best, the impartial reviewer is constrained to measure the public character of Thomas Jefferson by a rule of *selfishness* that shone conspicuous through his whole political career, and which must ever detract materially from his claims to gratitude and veneration as a statesman. And while all unite in ascribing to him great powers of mind, vast cultivation and information, and much that elicits and merits thankfulness in connection with our Revolutionary history, his memory will be mainly perpetuated, and his admirers must consent mainly to hand him down, as the eldest Patriarch of radical Democracy.

With all his budding honors in the political world, Jefferson had been through life, in another and tenderer connection, a man of afflictions and sorrows. Death had visited his family circle more than once. One by one its loved members had been snatched

away. While yet at the starting point of elevation, and while the halo of future honors gleamed but faintly in the distant political horizon, he beheld the grave close over all that had been affectionate and beautiful in her who had blessed his youth with her love, and made happy the earliest home of his manhood. She left him two little daughters, and the memory of her love; and these were the sole pledge and token of their union. Her memory found its shrine in the warmest affections of his heart, and his love was never shared by another. The daughters, under his paternal care, survived the trials of youth, and grew to be accomplished and fascinating women. They married; and his home and fireside were left cheerless. In a few years, the elder of the two sickened and died, before the father had even grown familiar with her absence. This was in the meridian of his first Presidency; but the pomp, and circumstance, and splendor of high office could not assuage the anguish of a wounded heart. The blow fell heavily and unexpectedly. Henceforth his earthly affections were absorbed in the love of his only remaining child and her children. And while yet the chastening rod of death was suspended, and he was bending beneath its trying inflictions, and when the ease and emolument of office were approximating to a close, a new source of anxiety and of misfortune was sprung. Forty years of his life, and more, had been abstracted from his own and given to the affairs of the country. As property possesses no self-preserving principle, that of Jefferson had suffered seriously and alarmingly under such long neglect. He left the Executive mansion deeply embarrassed, and returned to

Monticello heavily oppressed in mind and circumstances. His books, his apparatus, his literary and scientific pursuits were all impotent to chase off these mortifying reflections, and the rich treasures of intellectual research were soiled by a commixture with the less welcome but necessary employment of lottery draughts and financial calculations. The generous interposition of Congress enabled him to keep his library; and the forbearance and liberality of those he owed, added to other matters, helped him to avoid the sheriff's clutches. His estate, however, was never relieved, and his principal bequest to those he left behind consisted of the papers which compose the volumes we have just closed.

On the fourth of July, 1826, just fifty years from the memorable day which had witnessed the birth of American Independence, and simultaneously with that of John Adams, the spirit of Jefferson took its flight from earth. He died at Monticello, in the arms of his surviving daughter, at the ripe age of eighty-three years. His last conversations showed that the waning faculties of mind were busy with the long past eventful scenes of his life. His thoughts wandered from the strifes and unpleasant personal collisions with old political friends which had blurred the latter years of his public career, and seemed to dwell amid the consecrated shades of Independence Hall, and the stirring scenes of the Revolutionary era. His last wish was "that he might be permitted to inhale the refreshing breath of another Fourth of July." And the wish was granted.

J. B. C.

LONGWOOD, MISS., Oct., 1850.

MEMOIR OF THE PUBLIC LIFE OF EDWARD EVERETT.

[Our principal authorities in the preparation of the earlier part of the following sketch, are an article in the *National Portrait Gallery*, vol. 4; a memoir in the *New-England Magazine* for September, 1833; and some shorter papers in different publications. For the later period of Mr. Everett's life, we have relied on other sources of information, which we believe to be authentic.]

EDWARD EVERETT was born in Dorchester, in Norfolk county, Massachusetts, in April, 1794. The late Alexander Hill Everett, our Minister to Spain in Mr. Adams's administration, was his elder brother. They descend from one of the earliest settlers of Massachusetts Bay, who established himself at Dedham, now the shire town of Norfolk county, where the family still remains. Oliver Everett, the father of Messrs. Alexander and Edward Everett, was in his youth apprenticed to a carpenter in Dedham. His health failed, however, in this occupation, and, after he had attained his majority, he began to prepare himself for college. He entered Harvard College in 1775, at the age of 23. He graduated in course, and, in 1782, was settled as the minister of the New South Church in Boston. Dr. Allen, in his *Biographical Dictionary*, says of him, that "after a ministry of ten years, and after having acquired a high reputation for the very extraordinary powers of his mind, the state of his health induced him to ask a dismissal from his people in 1792." The late President Kirkland was his immediate successor in the New South Church. After retiring from the ministry, Mr. Oliver Everett settled upon a very small farm in Dorchester. In the year 1799, he was appointed a Judge of the Common Pleas in Norfolk county, which office he filled to general satisfaction until his death in 1802. The few persons who still remember him speak with enthusiasm of his fine intellectual abilities, giving him credit for an especial fondness for metaphysical study. He left eight children, of whom the subject of this memoir is the fourth.

Dorchester, Mr. Edward Everett's birth-

place, is immediately adjacent to Boston. It is one of the oldest towns in Massachusetts, having received its name from the early Puritan settlers in token of the love which they bore Dorchester in England, "the magazine of rebellion," and one of the head-quarters in England of the Massachusetts Company.

Mr. Everett received the greater part of his schooling at the public schools of Dorchester and Boston, to which town the family removed after his father's death. In Boston he also attended, for about a year, a private school kept by the late Hon. Ezekiel Webster, (brother of Daniel Webster.) He passed the two last terms of the year preceding his entrance into College, at the Academy at Exeter, New-Hampshire, of which the late Dr. Benjamin Abbott was the distinguished head-master. To the circumstances attending this school career frequent allusions are made in Mr. Everett's published addresses. An affectionate tribute of gratitude to Dr. Abbot, which he made at the "Exeter festival" in 1838, is printed in the new edition of his addresses lately published.*

Mr. Everett entered Harvard College in 1807, when he was a few months more than thirteen years old. His distinguished brother Alexander was a year younger when he entered College in 1802. Each was the youngest member of his class, and each left College with its first honors.

Only seventeen years old when he left College, Mr. Everett seems to have been undecided as to his future profession. In one

* Everett's Orations and Speeches, vol. ii. p. 281.

of the biographical notices referred to above, it is said that his preference was for the study of the law, but that he changed his views at the instance and advice of President Kirkland, and of his family pastor, the celebrated Mr. Buckminster, and turned his thoughts to the study of divinity. He pursued this study for two years at Cambridge, where, during a part of that time, he filled the office of Latin tutor. In the year 1813, when he was not yet twenty years of age, he succeeded his friend Mr. Buckminster in the Brattle street church in Boston. The position is a very arduous one. His labors in it were quite beyond his years and his strength, and materially impaired his health. His discourses, delivered here, earned for him, at that early age, the reputation of hearty, earnest eloquence, and gave birth to the expectations with which, in after years, his efforts in other walks, as a public speaker, were awaited. In addition to the regular course of his professional duties, he wrote at this time and published a work of considerable compass, entitled, "A Defence of Christianity." It was an answer to a treatise of the late Mr. English, who had revived the arguments of Collins and other Deistical writers. Mr. Everett's "Defence," although a juvenile performance, and probably below the present advanced standard of critical learning, answered its purpose in its time. It was regarded as a successful effort. We remember that it is quoted with respect, as the work of an able writer, by as good a judge as Dr. Kaye, the present learned Bishop of Lincoln. This is in his account of the writings and opinions of Justin Martyr.*

In 1814, a gentleman, since known to be the late Samuel Eliot, Esq., a much respected and liberal merchant in Boston, established, anonymously, a foundation at Cambridge for a professorship of Greek Literature. Mr. Everett was invited to accept an appointment as the first Professor on this foundation. This proposal was rendered more tempting by permission to visit Europe with a view to recruit his impaired health. He was inducted into his professorship in the spring of 1815, and before he had attained the age of twenty-one years.

Before commencing his duties at Cambridge, Mr. Everett embarked at Boston for Liverpool, in one of the first ships that sailed after the peace, intending to repair immediately to the continent of Europe. On the arrival of the vessel at Liverpool, news was received of Napoleon's escape from Elba. Mr. Everett was detained in London till after the battle of Waterloo, and was the near witness of the excitements produced by it. From London he went, by the way of Holland, to Göttingen, the seat of a University at that time the most famous in Germany. He remained there more than two years to acquire the German language, to ascertain the state of philosophical learning and the mode of instruction in the German Universities, and to study those branches of ancient literature appropriate to his professorship. During this time, he employed his vacations in travelling in Prussia, Saxony, and Holland. These excursions gave him the opportunity of forming the acquaintance of many of the men of letters in those countries.

Having completed his residence at Göttingen, he passed the winter of 1817-18 in Paris, devoted to the studies subsidiary to his department, and especially to the acquisition of the Romaic, as a preparation for a tour in modern Greece. At this time he formed the intimate acquaintance of Koray, whose writings contributed so materially to the regeneration of Greece. It was, no doubt, from his intercourse with this eminent Grecian patriot, that Mr. Everett derived a portion of the interest afterwards manifested by him in the fortunes of Greece, and the progress of her revolution. In the spring of 1818, he went from Paris to London, passed a few weeks at Cambridge and Oxford, and made the usual tour through Wales, the Lake country, and Scotland. While in England, Mr. Everett made the acquaintance and acquired the friendship of some of the most eminent men of the day; among others, of Scott, Byron, Jeffrey, Campbell, Gifford, Lord Holland, Sir James MacIntosh, Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir Humphrey Davy, and other persons of distinction in the political and literary world.

In the autumn of this year, (1818,) in company with the late General Lyman of Boston, he commenced an extensive tour in the East of Europe. After visiting the most interesting portions of the south of France,

* We have never seen this work, but we learn the fact alluded to from the Christian Examiner, vol. vii. p. 337.

Switzerland, and the north of Italy, they divided the winter and early spring between Florence, Rome, and Naples. While in Italy, Mr. Everett devoted himself assiduously to the study of ancient art in its connection with ancient literature. He had constant access to the library of the Vatican, obtained for him by Canova, whose acquaintance and friendship he enjoyed. Toward the end of March, 1819, the travellers started for Greece; passing through the lower part of the kingdom of Naples, at that time almost a *terra incognita*, and crossing from Otranto to Corfu. The following animated sketch of the approach of a traveller from the West of Europe or from America to Greece, which occurs in Mr. Everett's memoir of John Lowell, jr., the founder of the Lowell Institute, is no doubt drawn from his own recollections and experience:—

"When the traveller from Western Europe or America finds himself sailing along the channel which separates the Ionian Islands from the shores of continental Greece, he feels himself, at length, arrived in the bright clime of battle and of song. In Italy and Sicily, he is still in the modern and the Western World, although numberless memorials of the past remain, and a foretaste of Eastern costume and manners presents itself. But he realizes, with full consciousness, that he is indeed on his pilgrimage, when his eyes rest upon those gems of the deep, which the skill of the Grecian minstrel has touched with a spark of immortality; when he can say to himself, as he passes along, 'On this spot was unfolded the gorgeous web of the Odyssey; from that cliff Sappho threw herself into the sea; on my left hand lay the gardens of Alcinoüs,—and the olive, and the grape, and the orange still cover the soil; before me rises the embattled citadel which Virgil describes; on my right are the infamous Acroceræunian rocks of Horace; and within that blue, mountain barrier, which bounds the horizon, were concealed the mystic grove and oracle of Dodona—the cradle of the mythology of Greece.' When to these recollections of antiquity are added the modern Oriental features of the scene;—the dress of the Grecian peasant or boatman, seen as you coast along the islands; the report of the musket of the Albanian,—half shepherd, half bandit,—as he tends his flocks on the hill-sides of the mainland; the minaret, the crescent, and the cypress grove, which mark the cities of the living, and the resting-place of the dead; you then feel yourself departed from the language, the manners, and the faith of Christendom, and fairly entered within the vestibule of the mysterious East."

Mr. Everett crossed from Corfu to the coast of Albania, and made a visit to Yanina, its capital. He was furnished with

letters of introduction from Lord Byron to Ali Pacha, and from Ignatius, the Metropolitan of Prevesa, to Mughtar Pacha, the oldest son of the aged vizier and governor of Yanina. These letters secured distinguished civilities to Mr. Everett and his friend and companion. After a few days passed at Yanina, they crossed Mount Pindus into Thessaly, visited Veli Pacha, second son of Ali, at his residence at Turnavo, and having examined Pharsalia and Thermopylæ, crossed the mountains, and passed by the way of Delphi and Thebes to Athens. Having spent two or three weeks at Athens, they made the tour of the Morea, and recrossing Parnassus into Thessaly, took passage from the Gulf of Volo for the plain of Troy and Constantinople. Off Mount Athos they encountered a storm in which their vessel sprang a leak. They left her at the island of Lemnos, and made the rest of the passage to the Troad in an open caique. After passing the month of June in Constantinople, they returned to the West of Europe through Wallachia, Hungary, and Austria.

Mr. Everett returned to America in the autumn of 1819, after an absence of four and a half years. He entered at once with diligence upon the duties of the professorship at Cambridge. Soon after his return, he was invited by a club of literary and scientific gentlemen, who owned and edited the *North American Review*, to become one of their number, with a view to his assuming the chief editorship of that journal. The *North American* had been established for some years at this time. It appeared once in two months. But, though supported by contributors of great learning and ability, it had, as yet, acquired but a very limited circulation. Under the auspices of its new editor, the circulation was at once greatly enlarged. A new series was commenced, and so rapid was the increase of the demand for it, that it became necessary to print a second edition, and even a third of some of the numbers. This was the first instance in which a critical journal succeeded in establishing itself firmly in the United States.

The early fortunes of the *North American Review* have a place in our literary history sufficiently important to justify us in dwelling on some of these details. Mr. Everett not only had the assistance of its former editors and contributors, but of several new ones, of whom we may mention

* Orations and Speeches, vol. ii. p. 401.

his brother, Alexander H. Everett, and his kinsmen, Messrs. William and Oliver Peabody. In 1824, the editorship passed into the hands of Mr. Sparks, and afterwards, successively, into those of Mr. A. H. Everett, on his return from Spain, and Dr. Palfrey. During all this period Mr. Edward Everett continued a regular and frequent contributor.

From his first connection with it, he attempted to give to it an American character and spirit. He made it a special object to defend the country against foreign tourists and essayists. During his long residence abroad, he had observed that writers of these classes assailed American principles, while they affected to assail American customs. America was vilified under their pens, that Republican institutions might be disparaged and made contemptible. One of the ablest of these writers, Capt. Marryatt, afterwards substantially avowed this as the object of his work on the United States! The North American Review, under Mr. Everett's charge, distinctly met such attempts. In his second number, he began a series of papers in systematic vindication of the country. This was in commenting on "Walsh's Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain." To this article one of the contributors to the London New Monthly Magazine made a flippant reply. The New Monthly was then in its infancy, under the direction of the poet Campbell. To this paper Mr. Everett rejoined. At the close of the year, in the preface prepared for the annual volume of the New Monthly, Campbell alluded to his rejoinder in the following liberal terms:—

"Under this plea, (the impossibility of exacting an entire conformity with the editor from a large body of contributors,) the editor has no desire to excuse himself for one article which has given offense rather too justly on the other side of the Atlantic. He inserted it without reflection, but had observed its unfairness, and felt dissatisfied with himself for having published it, long before the fair and temperate reply which Mr. Everett made to it had reached him."

Mr. Campbell himself then proceeded to make a handsome defense of America and Americans, against several of the charges most frequently brought against them by English writers, and concluded with this observation:—

"If any ill-natured remarks should be made on this apology, which the editor has offered the people of the United States, he can promise his critics one

advantage, that he will (in all probability) make no reply to them. But the sober part of the British community will scarcely require an excuse for his having spoken thus respectfully of the Americans. It was a duty particularly imposed upon him by the candid manner of Mr. Everett's reply; and it was otherwise, as he felt in his heart, deservedly claimed by a people eulogized by Burke and Chatham; by a land that brings such recollections to the mind as the wisdom of Washington and Franklin, and the heroism of Warren and Montgomery."*

Our younger readers, who have never examined the old files of periodicals, and the other volumes of the English press enough to know its original tone, with regard to America and American institutions, can hardly feel the force of the terms in which Campbell thus made the *amende honorable*. Mr. Everett, as we have said, followed up his article on Walsh's book by a series of others, in the same strain. We cannot doubt that this series has had its influence in bringing about the altered tone which has, more and more, up to our time, pervaded the comments which foreign presses have made on the United States.

The charge of the North American Review, however, was but an accompaniment of Mr. Everett's laborious regular duties as Eliot Professor at Cambridge. He prepared and delivered there a complete course of lectures on the history of the Literature of Greece, comprising an account of the life and works of every Greek classic author from the earliest period to the Byzantine age. He delivered several shorter courses also;—two of which, on "Antiquities and Ancient Art," were repeated before large popular audiences in Boston. Before this time, Professors Peck, Gorham and Bigelow had delivered popular scientific lectures in Boston; but we believe Mr. Everett's were the first of the class of purely literary lectures ever delivered there, before large general audiences. At this time, Professor Everett published a translation of Buttmann's *Smaller Greek Grammar*, and a *Greek Reader* on the basis of Jacob's.

The political situation of Greece had always excited his deepest sympathies. "The Restoration of Greece" was the subject of his oration at Cambridge, in 1814, when he took his second degree there. His visit to Greece, where he personally witnessed the oppressions of the Turkish Government,

* Campbell's New Monthly, 1821; pref. p. xii.

greatly increased this early interest. In 1822, he received in manuscript the Appeal of the Messenian Senate of Calamata, the first organized body of the Greek revolution. Their Commissioners at Paris transmitted it to him, and at their request he translated it, and published it for the information of our countrymen. It failed however at the time to attract much notice.

In October, 1823, Mr. Everett wrote an article on the Greek Revolution, in the North American Review, accompanied with a complete translation of the Constitution of Epidaurus. Great interest in the cause of Greece was excited throughout the country by this fervid appeal. Numerous meetings were held, and considerable funds raised. At the next session of Congress, Mr. Webster took up the subject, and commended it with all the power of his eloquence to the sympathy and respect of the civilized world. Two or three years later, the correspondence of Mr. Everett with leading members of the government of Greece, being communicated to the late Matthew Carey, Esq., of Philadelphia, gave the impulse to the active and efficient exertions of that warm-hearted philanthropist, and other American *Philhellenes*, which resulted in the dispatch of several cargoes of clothing and provisions for the supply of the suffering Greeks.

In 1824, Mr. Everett delivered the annual oration at Cambridge, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society. The occasion was signalized by the attendance of Lafayette, whose personal acquaintance Mr. Everett had made a few years before at Paris. The entire discourse was very favorably received; but the peroration—being an apostrophe to Lafayette—touched a chord of sympathy in an immense audience, already highly excited by the unusual circumstances of the occasion. This was the first of a series of Orations and Addresses, delivered by Mr. Everett on public occasions of almost every kind, during a quarter of a century. They probably constitute that part of his literary efforts by which he is best known to the country, and have undoubtedly contributed materially to elevate the standard for productions of this class. They have lately been collected in two volumes octavo, the first of which is a re-impression of one which was published in 1836, containing the addresses which had been delivered previous to that time.

Up to the year 1824, Mr. Everett had taken no active interest in politics. In this year, the late Mr. Fuller, who had represented the Middlesex District in Congress for eight years, declined a re-election. It was a time of great political harmony; the ancient political distinctions had almost wholly sunk into oblivion. The young men of the district (whose fathers had belonged to both the former political parties) were desirous of selecting a candidate who could be supported on higher grounds than mere party preference. Mr. Everett's articles in the North American Review, above alluded to, had evinced his acquaintance with the great interests of the country; and the oration delivered in the presence of Lafayette had brought him prominently before the public, just at the time when a nomination was to be made. Under these circumstances, and without having been himself previously consulted on the subject, his name was brought forward at a volunteer Convention of the young men of the district. The nomination was received with great favor by the people of Middlesex, and he was elected by a handsome majority over the regular candidate.

Mr. Everett was thus brought into public life as a member of Congress, without any preliminary training in State politics. He was re-elected four times successively, by large majorities. He seems, as a member of the House of Representatives, to have taken a view of his duty, which we wish we could impress on other members, young or experienced. This was, in a word, to devote himself mainly to the discharge of that part of the public business which devolved on him. He did not take the floor so often as might have been expected (in those days when it was not, as now, almost impossible to take the floor) from one as much accustomed as he was to public speaking, and as able as he to command the ear of the House. On reference, however, to the transactions of the ten sessions for which he was a member, it will be found that he took part in almost every debate of importance. During his whole service in Congress he was on the Committee of Foreign Affairs. In the Twentieth Congress he was appointed its Chairman, by Mr. Stevenson, then Speaker—acting on the principle, that an Administration, although in a minority in the House, is entitled to the chair of that Committee, as a

position of peculiar confidence. Mr. Everett was a member of the most important Select Committees raised while he was in Congress: such as that on the Indian relations of the State of Georgia; that on the Apportionment Bill; and that on the Bank of the United States, (the Committee which sat in Philadelphia in 1834.) He drew the majority or the minority report in all the instances where he thus served. He formed, with the Hon. John Sergeant, of Philadelphia, the minority of the celebrated Retrenchment Committee in the Twentieth Congress; and he drew those portions of its report which relate to the Departments of State and of War. When he had just entered Congress, he drew the report on the mission to the Congress of Panama, the leading measure of the first session of the Nineteenth Congress, though he was the youngest member of the Committee. Together with the late Henry R. Storrs, he led the opposition to the Indian policy of General Jackson, (the removal of the Indians, without their consent, from lands guaranteed to them by treaty,) and he replied, on that subject, to the speech of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. Mr. Madison's celebrated letter on Nullification, in 1830, was addressed to Mr. Everett, and appended (with Mr. Madison's permission) to an article on that subject by Mr. Everett. This article appeared in the October number of the North American Review for that year. It will, we believe, be generally remembered, by those who have taken any interest in that stormy time. The unsoundness of the doctrine of Nullification, which had then been treated with all the gravity of a distinct system, was completely exposed in it; and a singular novelty of illustration and great strength of argument called attention to it, and gave force to it wherever it was read. There is a speech of Mr. Everett's on the tariff policy, delivered at this same period, to which no answer was ever attempted. It demonstrates the fallacy of one of Mr. Calhoun's favorite doctrines,—that the duty on goods imported is paid, not by the consumer, but by the Southern planter, as a large producer of the exported article given in exchange. Mr. Everett shows that, admitting the principle that the duty is paid by the producer of the article given in exchange, still it is paid by the consumer; for he is, of necessity, the ultimate

producer of the article finally given in exchange, and therefore the payer of the duty, even on the Southern statement of the principle.

The last act of Mr. Everett as a member of Congress was the minority report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs on the French controversy in 1834–1835, and a speech on the same subject in the House. We have been told, on good authority, that the late King of the French paid the highest compliment to the liberal spirit evinced in this report and speech, and to the knowledge of the subject involved.

In the autumn of 1834, Mr. Everett had announced his intention of retiring from Congress. In the winter of 1835 he was nominated as a candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, and he was chosen in the autumn of that year. The subjects of local administration, in which he was most interested, are of so great general importance that we should hardly hesitate to call to them the attention of the readers of this Review, but that our limits warn us that we must bring this sketch toward a close. We content ourselves with saying, that, while he was Governor, the Commonwealth gave its liberal assistance to the Western Railroad; that the Board of Education was established; that a sound currency was preserved in the State during the panic of 1837; that the elaborate scientific surveys of the State were prosecuted, and the Criminal Law Commission appointed, all in a series of measures, which had his full concurrence and efficient support. It was while he was Governor that the surplus revenue was distributed. In one of his recent speeches* we find his narrative of a plan, not less magnificent than feasible, which he had formed for the disposal of the share of this distribution which fell to Massachusetts. He wished that she would appropriate \$1,000,000 to pay her subscription to the Western Railroad. He would have had the remainder, which was then estimated at more than \$700,000, divided between the State's colleges, the common schools, and an astronomical observatory. If such a disposition had been made, Massachusetts would now have a fund yielding a regular interest of 80,000 dollars. But other counsels prevailed, and the surplus was divided among

* Second Speech in aid of the Colleges; *Oractions and Speeches*, vol. ii. p. 616.

the several towns, in the proportion of their population.

Mr. Everett's efforts, however, for the cause of education in Massachusetts, to which in his public addresses he had often lent his best aid, were not confined to this unsuccessful plan. In his Annual Speech to the Legislature of 1837, he earnestly called their attention to the subject of the schools, and among other things recommended the establishment of a Board of Education. About the same time, a very liberal donation was announced for the expenses of Normal Schools, and of an active Secretary of such a Board,—a donation made by the late Mr. Edmund Dwight,—though, till his death, his name was concealed. In the course of the session the Board was established, and Mr. Horace Mann named as its first Secretary. On this subject, we may quote as our best authority the following passage from an able article in the *Christian Examiner*, on the subject of the Massachusetts Board of Education. The article is by Hon. Charles W. Upham, of Salem, a distinguished member of the Massachusetts Senate:—

"The Board of Education was organized in the Council Chamber, on the 29th of June, 1837. The Governor was of course Chairman, and Horace Mann was elected, by ballot, Secretary. The novelty of the movement, the immense extent, diversity, complexity, and minuteness of the objects within its scope, the inadequacy of its powers and means, the vague and exaggerated expectations of wonderful results, to be reached at once, entertained by many of the most sanguine and busy friends of the cause, political jealousies, with the use made of them by intriguing partisans, and, more than all, sectarian opposition, embarrassed the Board exceedingly during the earlier years of its operations, which were, besides, years of peculiar financial difficulty in the community at large. The value of the services of Governor Everett, under these disadvantageous and perplexing circumstances, cannot be overestimated. He wrote the several Annual Reports of the Board, and, as Chairman of most of the sub-committees, he also discharged a great amount of labor, and bore the constant burden of responsible care. His indefatigable fidelity, his conscientious and enlightened prudence, his extraordinary discretion as a statesman, and his profound enthusiasm in the cause, were what the crisis absolutely needed. While justice to the Secretary demands the tribute which we are about to render, it also requires us to acknowledge that no other hand, perhaps, than that which then held the helm of State, could have safely 'piloted the little bark through the rough sea of jealousy and opposition.'"

* *Christian Examiner*, Nov., 1849, p. 397.

Mr. Everett held the office of Governor till 1840. At that period the political parties of Massachusetts were very closely balanced; and, in the election of November, 1839, local questions connected with the License and Militia Laws defeated his election. Judge Morton, the Democratic candidate, succeeded by one vote, out of more than a hundred thousand.

Thus relieved from public duty, Mr. Everett was led by domestic reasons to visit Europe a second time. He sailed with his family in June, 1840. They spent the summer in Paris, and the following year in Florence and its vicinity. We have understood that the same reasons which dictated this residence in a climate milder than that of New-England, would have induced Mr. Everett to pass another winter in Italy, but political occurrences changed his destination. In the spring of 1841, General Harrison was elected President, and Mr. Webster became Secretary of State. The ban under which the Whig party had lain for a generation (with the brief exception of Mr. Adams's administration) was thus raised, and Mr. Everett's services and position as a member of that party, and his intimate personal and political relations with Mr. Webster,—relations of long standing,—led to the expectation that he would be called to some important duty under the new Administration.

Mr. Andrew Stevenson, the United States Minister at London, had been recalled, at his own request, on the change of administration. The vacancy thus created was, of course, one of the most important to be filled. The Diplomatic service, under our Government, cannot be said to stand on a good footing. Under the leading Governments of Europe that service is made a distinct career. It is entered, or prepared for in youth, by an appropriate course of study, and then is pursued, through a regular gradation of subordinate posts. Under the European system, also, a change of the home administration does not directly affect the positions of any of the diplomatic agents, excepting the Ambassadors at two or three leading courts. Paid Attachés, Secretaries of Legation, *Chargés* and Ministers retain their offices and continue in the regular routine. Liberal salaries enable men without large private fortunes to devote themselves to this branch of the public ser-

vice; and a retiring pension, allowed to those who stand highest in the list, prevents the retired Minister from sinking into want. In this way an efficient corps is kept up of men well-read in the law of nations, and in modern political history, conversant with the principal modern languages, personally acquainted with the characters of leading men, and familiar with negotiation. It is unnecessary to say how little of all this exists in the United States. The want of permanency in the career, the smallness of the salaries, and the custom of regarding foreign appointments simply as the reward of partisan services, have their effect upon our diplomacy. It is, under the circumstances, only matter of wonder that it is so generally regarded as highly respectable. This may partly be explained by the facts, that, as the field of service is remote from the public eye, and the manner in which the duty is performed is known only to the Department of State, and but partially there, a great degree of unfitness may exist on the part of some of the foreign Ministers, and be severely felt by those immediately concerned, without becoming matter of notoriety.

There were few individuals, perhaps, whose previous course of life had been better adapted than Mr. Everett's to supply the defects of regular diplomatic training. The Elements of the Civil Law are studied in the German Universities as a branch of classical antiquities. Mr. Everett's residence of five or six years in Europe had made him familiar with the principal continental languages, particularly with the French, which, even in London, is the language of diplomacy. His connection with the Committee of Foreign Affairs for the ten years he was in Congress had led him to study carefully the entire range of our foreign relations. As Governor of Massachusetts, he had, of course, mastered the Boundary Question in its almost endless details; and this was the leading question between Great Britain and the United States at the time he was appointed Minister.

When the importance of the English mission at all times is borne in mind, with the critical state of the relations of the two countries in 1841, and the magnitude and difficulty of the topics to be discussed, the appointment of Mr. Everett, who had been for more than a twelvemonth absent from

the country, and taken no part in the struggles of the election, must be considered as a striking proof of the confidence of the Administration in his discretion and ability.

He arrived in London, to enter upon the duties of his mission, at the close of the year 1841. Among the great questions to which we allude, which were at that time open between the two countries, were the Northeastern Boundary, the affair of Mr. McLeod, and the seizure of American vessels on the coast of Africa. In the course of a few months the affair of the Creole followed, to which were soon added Oregon and Texas. His position must have been rendered more difficult by the frequent changes which took place in the Department at home. Between Mr. Webster, who retired in the spring of 1843, and Mr. Buchanan, who came in with Mr. Polk in 1845, it was occupied successively by Messrs. Legaré, Upshur, and Calhoun. From all these gentlemen, Mr. Everett received marks of approbation and confidence.

At the time of his arrival in London, besides the intrinsic difficulty of the questions to which his attention was called, some embarrassment arose from antecedent occurrences. A change of administration had taken place on both sides of the water. But Lord Palmerston, in the last days of his Secretaryship, had addressed an uncompromising letter to Mr. Stevenson on the African question; and Mr. Stevenson on the eve of his departure from London had written to Lord Aberdeen in the same strain.* In this way a legacy of trouble was left to the new administrations on both sides.

By the institution of the special mission of Lord Ashburton, the direct negotiations between the two Governments were transferred to Washington. It appears however, from documents that have from time to time been communicated to Congress, that various topics connected with all the subjects in dispute were incidentally treated in the correspondence of the American Minister at London both with his own and the British Government. Many elaborate notes to Lord Aberdeen, and dispatches to the American Secretary of State, have, in this way, come before the public, forming however, we believe, but a small part of the documents of

* See the Introduction to the volume of Mr. Webster's Diplomatic Papers, where these difficulties are stated in detail.

both classes prepared by Mr. Everett during his mission. In consequence of the multiplication, in the lapse of time, of subjects of public controversy,—the increase in the number of private claims,—the extension of commercial intercourse generally, often with remote colonial possessions of the British Government, where irregularities are likely to occur under the provincial authorities, the amount of business transacted at the American Legation from 1841 to 1845, as we have understood from the best authority, was more than double that of any former period of equal duration.

Mr. Everett is, however, as may have been seen by the reader of this sketch, a person of assiduous habits of labor; and he discharged this greatly increased amount of public business, in such a way as to gain the entire confidence of his Government. He received striking proofs of this confidence. When, at the end of the session of 1842–43, Congress made an appropriation for a mission to China, under circumstances which required an immediate nomination to it, Mr. Everett was appointed by the President and Senate, for the purpose of opening diplomatic relations with that country and negotiating a treaty of commerce. In the autumn of the same year, he received full powers to negotiate with the British Government for the final adjustment of the Oregon difficulty. But that negotiation had just been transferred, at the instance of Great Britain, to Washington. General Fox, as will be remembered, had been recalled, and Sir Richard Pakenham was appointed to conduct it there.

The Congressional documents are the only sources open to the public, from which may be learned the nature of the subjects which Mr. E. brought to a successful issue. Among these were several claims for the seizure of vessels on the coast of Africa, and large demands of American citizens for duties levied contrary to the commercial treaty between the two countries. In reference to the latter, Mr. E. obtained an acknowledgment of the justice of the claims, and proposed the principle of offset on which they were, soon after the close of his mission, liquidated and paid. He obtained for our fishermen the right of taking fish in the Bay of Fundy, which had been a subject of irritation and controversy between them and the Provincial authorities for thirty years. He procured, at different

times, the release from Van Diemen's Land of fifty or sixty of the misguided Americans who had embarked in the Canadian rebellion of 1838. It will be remembered, however, as we have already observed, that a small part only of his correspondence has been brought before the public.

Immediately after the accession of Mr. Polk to the Presidency, Mr. Everett was recalled. He remained in London, however, until the arrival of Mr. Louis McLane, his successor.

He returned to Boston in the autumn of 1845. Shortly before that time, Harvard University was left without a President, by the resignation of the Hon. Josiah Quincy, who had been at its head for sixteen years. The friends of the institution united in pressing Mr. Everett to accept the nomination which was offered him as Mr. Quincy's successor. He did so, in January, 1846, and was formally inaugurated, April 30th of the same year. He held his office there for three years—an administration which has been, we do not hesitate to say, of the highest value to the College. His connection with the institution, either by residence near it, or by official position, had been preserved in some way almost constantly since he entered it as a boy. His position as President was doubtless made dear to him thus, by the associations and affections of his life. He devoted to his duties all the enthusiasm which could arise from such associations,—all his assiduous labor,—and the fruit of his mature studies and experience. Of the result of such devotion we have not hesitated to speak, although a matter of such recent observation.

The friends of the College had every reason to regret, therefore, on its account, that the very burdensome details of his office so wore upon Mr. Everett's health, as to compel him to resign it after three years' service. The publication since that time of the volumes we have spoken of, and the promise of his treatise on the Law of Nations, induce us to express a doubt whether that retirement ought to be a matter of equal regret to the friends of literature and science generally.

Since his resignation, Mr. Everett has lived in Cambridge, retired from public duty, devoted to the restoration of his health, and to the calls of social life. A portion of his time has been devoted to the preparation of

the volumes of his speeches to which we have alluded;—two volumes which, from their character and subject, will take a permanent place in the literature of our time. In the preface of that work he says, that he contemplates also a “selection from his numerous articles in the *North American Review*; from his speeches and reports in Congress, and from his official papers and correspondence. Nor am I wholly without hope,” he adds, “that I shall be able to execute the more arduous project, to which I have devoted a good deal of time for many years, and toward which I have collected ample materials,—that of a systematic treatise on the Law of Nations, more especially in reference to those questions which have been discussed between the United States and Europe, since the peace of 1783.”

We see that we have trespassed upon our limits. The detail of dates and facts which we have given shows a somewhat singular variety of public service to which Mr. Everett has been called, ever since what we may call his boyhood. We can scarcely name a person, not farther advanced in life, who, without specially dazzling incidents of brilliant achievement, has passed through a more varied or laborious career. Such a career cannot be analyzed, nor the character trained in it, in a sketch limited as this is. And, while we have attempted simply to place in order the more essential facts of its course, we do not know how we could better bring the narrative to a close, than

by the following extract from a speech of Mr. Webster at an agricultural festival in Massachusetts the past year:—

“Gentlemen, I am happy also to see here, I may say, an early friend of my own, a distinguished citizen, himself a native of this county,—his ancestors, I believe, for generations native and resident here in Dedham,—I mean Governor Everett. As he has of late not been frequently amongst us on such occasions, I must take leave, notwithstanding the repulsiveness of his own modesty, to say that he is one who has gone through a long career of eminent public service. We all remember him, some of us personally—myself, certainly with great interest, in his deliberations in the Congress of the United States, to which he brought such a degree of learning and ability and eloquence as few equalled and none surpassed. He administered afterwards satisfactorily to his fellow-citizens the duties of the chair of the Commonwealth. He then, to the great advantage of his country, went abroad. He was deputed to represent his Government at the most important Court of Europe, and he carried thither many qualities, most of them essential, and all of them ornamental and useful, to fill that high station. He had education and scholarship. He had a reputation at home and abroad. More than all, he had an acquaintance with the politics of the world—with the law of his country and of nations—with the history and policy of the countries of Europe. And how well these qualities enabled him to reflect honor upon the literature and character of his native land, not we only but all the country and all the world know. He has performed this career, gentlemen, and is yet at such a period of life that I may venture something upon the character and the privilege of my countrymen, when I predict that those who have known him long and know him now—those who have seen him and see him now—those who have heard him and hear him now, are very likely to think that his country has demands upon him for future efforts in its service.”

SONNETS TO FILL BLANKS.

NUMBER THREE.

“‘Sonnets to fill blanks?’ reads a grave ‘subscriber,’
 “All sonnets were for that sole purpose made;
 Blanks in young ladies’ brains. Should I describe her,
 I’d call the muse a ‘blank filler’ by trade,
 A scribbler upon spaces left by nature;
 Filling them in with images fantastic;
 An incoherent, idle, dreamy creature,
 Of soul too soft, and character too plastic,
 For anything of use.” Then with a sneer,
 And scornful threat, Sir Reader jerks the leaf,
 And looking very politic and severe,
 Turns to the “Miscellany” for relief.
 And with a passion mixed of love and awe,
 Hangs o’er the “bill” for Texas or Eutaw.

USES AND ABUSES OF LYNCH LAW.

ARTICLE SECOND.

THAT circumstances may arise when nothing less potent and immediate than the application of Lynch law can prevent wholesale robbery and murder, was most conclusively proved by the events which occurred in Mississippi after the capture and imprisonment of Murrel, the "Land Pirate."

In order that our readers may properly understand the very extraordinary state of affairs that existed in the Valley of the Mississippi at the time, it is necessary for us to give some account of the Pirate, his plot, and his capture; for singular as it may seem, we do not believe that one in ten of Northern men have ever heard the name of Murrel, or known anything of his conspiracy—a conspiracy which enrolled in its ranks almost every villain in the Southwest, and aimed at no less a crisis than the total destruction and ruin of the Southwestern States.

John A. Murrel was one of the worst class of Western villains. After a career of crime almost unparalleled, he conceived and apparently almost carried into execution a plan which, if perfected, would have plunged the entire South and West into an abyss of misery and desolation.

Whether he would really have pushed his designs to the extent he induced his adherents to believe, is a matter of doubt; for although when a prisoner he was anxious that they should make the attempt, it is probable he might have confined the sphere of action, or have deferred for a long time the execution of his incredibly daring plot.

His idea, we believe, was to revolutionize the entire South; to cause the negroes to rise simultaneously, and, under the command of his associates and himself, to lay waste city and country, to burn, rob, murder, devastate and destroy.

His plans were deeply laid. To a few he confided the extent of his design, and to each of these he gave the authority to enlist all the minor villains of their acquaintance.

The latter were termed Strikers, and used but as tools—in fact, as the hands to do the work of the conspiracy—while the Grand Council, as head, controlled their motions.

They were sworn by the most horrible oaths to secrecy, and to the unhesitating performance of all the commands of their superiors. To violate their oath was certain death.

In a short time Murrel had bound together in his chain the great mass of robbers and minor villains in the West, but this did not content him. For all the purposes of mutual assistance in counterfeiting, robbery, negro and horse stealing, the present confederacy might suffice, but it was necessary for safety and the completion of his grand design, that his band should include among their members men of an entirely different class—men of standing in society, and of name in the world.

To accomplish this, he established throughout the entire South, or perhaps more particularly the portion that borders upon the Mississippi river, a *cordon* of robber police, so well drilled, so effective in their operations, that Vidocq himself might have envied the perfection of the arrangements. Every crime not committed by one of the gang was traced immediately to its author, and the criminal was astounded on discovering that deeds which he supposed none but his God and himself to be cognizant of, were known by numbers, whose mandate he must obey implicitly and among whom he must enroll his name, or be immediately exposed to the world and to justice.

It is not, at this late hour, for us to learn that petty crimes, or those of the first magnitude, are not confined to the lower walks of life. All, however, were fish that came to Murrel's net; the low gambler and the rich villain were equally received with open arms.

Not content with detecting crime, his

victims were seduced to commit it, and the trap then sprung upon them.

In this manner, ere long, he numbered men of all classes and grades, including many persons of wealth, *judges, lawyers, clergymen, militia officers of high rank, planters, merchants, &c.**

* Lest the reader may think that we have either been ourselves imposed upon or are seeking to impose upon others, we here insert an extract from a Galveston (Texas) paper, published within the last twelve months. In our account of the Murrel conspiracy we have been particularly careful to insert nothing of the truth of which we are not positively certain; many of the facts are from personal knowledge, or from the knowledge of those upon whose word we place implicit confidence. The following extract properly belongs to a later part of this paper:—

From the Galveston News.

THE MURREL GANG IN WASHINGTON COUNTY.

The *Texan Ranger*, of the 10th instant, contains the confession of A. G. Grigg, one of the gang of thieves whom the citizens of Austin, Fayette, and Washington counties (where the operations have been principally carried on) have determined on exterminating, or otherwise stopping their infamous career. This confession exhibits an organized and systematic plan of procedure, as well calculated to accomplish the nefarious ends of the band as to escape the penalties of the law and justice in case of detection.

The published names of those connected with the gang, are:—

Rev. Nathan Shook, of Crockett; Judge Kelsae, or Kersaw, living somewhere on the Guadalupe river; Orland Snapp, Lewis Boren, Bill Short, William Howitt, George Carmine, James Cox, Nathaniel Greer, James McLaughlin, James Crook, D. D. Ritchey, and a man named Agery. The latter controlled a mint, located above Brownsville on the Rio Grande, but which none of the others were made acquainted with. Agery supplied his accomplices with the spurious coin for fifty cents on the dollar, in good money, at the Star Hotel in this city, which establishment, according to Grigg's confession, he had rented, and Bill Short was to be proprietor. Agery paid two hundred dollars in good money for each negro delivered to him, or four hundred dollars in spurious coin.

Passing counterfeit money, stealing negroes, cattle, and other property, were the principal branches of business followed by this extensive association. A correspondent of the *Ranger* says, the number of negroes stolen from the counties named is very considerable. Two of the gang, Short and McLaughlin, were tried for murder in 1848, but by means of their associates on the Jury got clear, and afterwards boasted that they had followed one of the State's witnesses to take his life for giving evidence against them, which it is thought they succeeded in doing. The same correspondent says, the gang is composed of ministers of the gospel, merchants, lawyers, farmers, traders,

The great secrets of the confederacy were confined to the leaders, known as the Grand Council, and the Striker's only duty was to obey the every command of his superior.

Members of the clan recognized each other by certain signs, and the correspondence between the leaders was conducted in a cipher.

Perhaps the most singular circumstance connected with the history of this affair is, that although the designs of Murrel must have been known to some two hundred of the superior villains, and the existence of the plan to more than as many thousands; yet with so much fear did they regard the confederacy, or with so much faith did they believe in the power, talent and management of their leader, that it was through him, and through him alone, that they were ultimately betrayed.

The circumstances of the discovery of the plot were these:

Murrel had owned a farm, or plantation, for a number of years in Madison county, Tennessee. Here his true character was for a time unknown, but the frequent losses of slaves and valuable horses by the neighboring planters induced them to regard him with suspicion, which indeed his singular and mysterious mode of life warranted them in doing.

He was absent months at a time from his home and wife without any apparent reason, or ostensible business. His home was a rendezvous for strangers of a suspicious character; persons were often seen to arrive and depart at the dead hour of the night, and in fact everything concurred to produce the impression upon his neighbors, that not only was he a dishonest and dangerous character, but also a leader or a chief of some unknown band of robbers, counterfeiters, or murderers—perhaps all the three.

Suspicion led to a closer scrutiny, and scrutiny to detection. A neighbor had lost a number of slaves, and for several days could find no trace of them. At length, the overseer of his plantation discovering one of the runaways creeping into his deserted "quarter," at night, gave chase, and after some trouble succeeded in capturing him.

and also that some EDITORS of newspapers are inculpated, as having aided by their advice and support.

We are curious to know who the editors are, and look anxiously for the full disclosures.

From him they obtained a knowledge of the *locale* of the rendezvous, and the name of the negro thief. As they had anticipated, it was Murrel.

The testimony of a negro against a white man, however, is invalid in Tennessee, and it was necessary to detect the criminal themselves.

The negro was accordingly directed to guide his master and a number of well-armed men to the spot in silence, and then rejoin his associates, being threatened with the penalty of death if he should in any manner betray the design of his captors.

The plot succeeded. Hardly had the company been cautiously posted around the negroes, when Murrel himself, bearing a basket of provisions in his hand, made his appearance, and immediately began to divide the food among them.

After the party had seen and heard sufficient for their purpose, they rushed upon the villain, and secured him.

Taken entirely unawares, Murrel's coolness did not in the least desert him; on the contrary, he turned upon the owner whom he had robbed, and congratulated him upon the recovery of his slaves, stating that he had himself discovered them but a short time before, and that he had beguiled them with fair promises and kind treatment into the belief that he was their friend, solely for the purpose, however, of securing them for him.

Despite his self-possession, however, he was bound, and carried in triumph to the county jail, where, in a day or two, he was bailed for a heavy sum. The day of trial arrived, and to the astonishment of every one, Murrel delivered himself up. So dark appeared the case, that the idea was universal that the bail-bond would be forfeited, and the criminal seek safety in flight. They were doubly mistaken. Murrel had employed skilful counsel, and his own knowledge of criminal law was not to be despised. It soon appeared the count in the indictment charging him with "negro stealing" could not be sustained, and he could only be convicted of harboring the negroes.

A verdict was accordingly rendered against him for this offense, mulcting him in a few hundred dollars, and against this he contended, appealing to the "Supreme Court," upon the ground of the unconstitutionality of the law against "negro harboring."

Failing in their attempt to inflict a severe penalty by law, the citizens of Madison, or at least many of them, determined upon taking the affair in their own hands, and accordingly organized a company with the intention of "Lynching" him. Here again were they out-generalled; for, perfectly apprised, through his spies, of their intentions, he summoned his adherents around him and prepared for a desperate resistance. Nor was this all. The enemies' camp counted among their number several of his spies, who not only notified him of their every movement, but spread discord among the company, and finally leaving it in the pretended fear of the consequences, induced the others to abandon the design.

Murrel had conquered; and now, feeling himself almost invulnerable, determined upon revenge, not dreaming that he was now to cope with one his equal in coolness and courage, and his superior in cunning. Among the most obnoxious of Murrel's neighbors was a Methodist minister of the name of Henning. He had been active in organizing the corps of Regulators, and had used all his influence to persuade the planters of Murrel's guilt and bad character, and upon him the desperado determined to be fully revenged. Henning had two fine and valuable negroes, and Murrel, without much difficulty, persuaded them to run away. He sent with them one of his "Strikers," whom he furnished with fast horses, to enable him, if hard pressed, to escape, but remained himself at home, in order to evade suspicion.

In this respect his precautions were useless; for as soon as Henning missed his slaves, he sent a quick-witted spy to watch every step of the supposed thief, and to obtain from his wife, if possible, some information of his intended movements. In the latter attempt the spy was successful, and discovered that Murrel intended to leave for the town of Randolph in a fortnight. Henning consulted with his friends as to what course it would be most advisable for him to pursue; but unfortunately, in this sad world which we inhabit, no man can be sure of a friend, as the worthy preacher soon after found out to his cost.

The very man in whom he placed the most confidence, and whom he first consulted upon the subject, was a member of the clan, and one of the Grand Council, and

of course the information was conveyed to Murrel with all possible speed.

The latter now had the double advantage of knowing his adversary's game, while his adversary supposed himself to be equally wise. With his characteristic boldness, Murrel addressed the following letter to Richard Henning, a son of the old preacher:—

DENMARK, January 23, 1835.

SIR,—I have been told that you accuse me of being concerned in stealing your own and your father's negroes; and I have been told also, that you have thought proper to vapor about what you would do with me if you could be sure of having me on equal terms. I say I have been told these things; and I wish to reply, if they be true, that I can whip you from the point of a dagger to the anchor of a ship. But, sir, if I have been misinformed by malicious persons, who wish to do you a discredit, I trust you will receive this letter as a message of friendship. I am about leaving for Randolph, and shall be pleased to have your company on any terms you may choose, or to satisfy you, if it is necessary, that my intentions and business are honest.

Yours, according to the truth or falsity of the rumors,

JOHN A. MURREL.

RICHARD HENNING.

At this critical time, Virgil A. Stewart, a friend of Henning, appeared upon the field, and the whole affair was laid before him.

No answer had been returned to Murrel's letter, and he supposed that his object—to prevent pursuit—had been attained.

Very different, however, were the intentions of the Hennings and their friend. The latter advised them to closely and carefully slow-track Murrel, until they found what his real destination was, and what the business might be that led him there; and, moreover, volunteered to accompany Richard Henning himself. His offer was accepted; and on the eve of the day when Murrel had informed them of his design to leave, Stewart started with the intention of riding a few miles upon the road to the house of a friend, where his companion was to join him at an early hour next morning.

Morning came, but no Henning; and Stewart, after waiting impatiently three or four hours, determined to proceed alone, and almost unarmed. Whether he would have done this had he known, as well as he afterwards did, the character of the man whom he was to encounter, is a matter of doubt; although it is certain that the pages of history can show no greater instance of the display of presence of mind, energy, determination, and courage, both moral and physical, than he

evinced in the successful pursuance of his design.

Stewart had reached the first toll-gate upon his road, and was in the act of inquiring of the keeper if Murrel had passed during the morning or last night, when the person himself rode up. Stewart continued his conversation with the keeper until Murrel had ridden out of sight, and then being satisfied with regard to his identity, mounted his horse in pursuit. It had been his intention to have followed his man closely, and yet to have kept out of his sight, but accident prevented this. The day was cold, and Stewart's horse, unperceived by his master, quickening his pace, brought him within sight of Murrel. The latter was looking round at him when Stewart first perceived their propinquity; and now, without checking his pace, he rode up and entered into conversation.

Murrel was very inquisitive. Stewart informed him that he was from the Choctaw Purchase, travelling in quest of a valuable horse which he thought must have strayed in that direction.

To the inquiry, "if he knew a man of the name of Murrel," Stewart returned so prompt a negative, and endured the scrutiny of his inquisitor's eye so unflinchingly, that Murrel, who trusted implicitly in his judgment of men by their looks, banished entirely his first idea, that Stewart was a sleuth-hound the Hennings had put upon his trail.

In some respects Murrel's judgment of his antagonist was correct. He saw courage, energy, and determination in his face at a glance, resolved to sound him, and if possible to enlist so valuable a recruit to serve under his own black flag.

Stewart intentionally spoke in such a manner as to give his new acquaintance an idea that his morals were of the loosest, and in fact said so much that Murrel, thinking he was wasting his labor after all upon one who was already a member, endeavored to draw from him the secret sign of the confederacy.

Failing in this, he set to work in earnest, and commenced a recital of the exploits of "this aforesaid Murrel"—speaking of him always as of a third party. Murrel's weak point was vanity, and Stewart's pretended admiration of the villainous performances, related with so much *goût*, so won upon him, that, completely deceived as to the latter's character, during the first day's ride

he expressed and really conceived a kind of friendship for him, and exacted a promise that he would accompany him as far as Randolph, in the hope of obtaining some information of the missing horse. A desperate game truly did Stewart play; but from the beginning of their acquaintance he had and kept the advantage.

The journey to Randolph occupied five days, during which time Murrel, satisfied that his first estimate of Stewart's character was correct, opened all his plans to him, and proposed to raise him immediately to a post of honor if he would join the gang. Stewart consented.

At this time, the least suspicion upon Murrel's part of his true character and intentions, would have cost our modern Vidocq his life; and indeed he ran a very narrow risk of discovery. He had assumed the name of Hues, and unfortunately the route which he and his companion were pursuing led them to the village of Wesley, where they were to pass the night, and where Stewart was known to several residents. He fortunately succeeded in escaping momentarily from Murrel's vigilant eye, under pretence that the services of a blacksmith were required for his horse; and during his temporary absence met a gentleman of his acquaintance to whom he confided his critical situation, and requested him to mount, as it were, guard over the tavern, and if any person who knew him should approach, to prevent them calling him by any other than his *nom de guerre*. His friend obeyed, and learning Stewart's determination to dare everything, and to follow Murrel until he was satisfied of his true designs, he provided him with arms of defense, of which Stewart was in great need.

Three times after this did Stewart communicate to persons upon the road something of the character of his companion, and of the desperate enterprise which he was pursuing.

The travellers at length reached the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of Old River, and crossed in a miserable canoe, during a violent tempest—having left their horses upon the eastern side. After landing upon the Arkansas shore, they proceeded some distance through a dense canebrake, crossed three streams of water, and at length stood upon the shores of a lake, in the centre of which a small island was seen.

This was the rendezvous of the Grand

Council,—a fitting place, truly, for a congress of murderers;—a spot shunned by man; unknown save by the wild beasts who chose it for their home. The rattle-snake and moccasin, less venomous than the human tigers who herded there, crawled under the primeval and miasma-fed drapery that shrouded the deadly cypress, the only tree that claimed the soil for its own.

Upon the island, Stewart found a number of the villains, and also the missing negroes of Mr. Henning. The Grand Council, or rather their representatives, had met to concoct plans for various nefarious enterprises, and among them the wholesale robbery of the negroes of Mr. Henderson, an absent planter, by his overseer. Stewart, now regularly inducted into their plans, secrets, and signs, being entirely satisfied with regard to the plans of Murrel, became naturally desirous to escape; and under the pretense of having left, by mistake, some valuable papers at the house of a Mr. Erwin, obtained leave of the chief to return there upon the condition that he would await his arrival before departing for home.

The Mr. Erwin to whose house Stewart returned, was one to whom he had confided something of his hazardous enterprise and of Murrel's character. Besides Erwin, he had also informed two other persons upon the road, and all of them entered fully into his plan. One, a Mr. Haynes, promised, in case of any emergency, or of his not returning at the appointed time, to raise a company of fifty armed men at half an hour's notice, and take the field to capture Murrel, and such of his gang as he might find.

With Erwin, Murrel had contracted to deliver three negroes at a certain price, and Stewart had, before crossing the river, arranged with his host to lead the pirate on to the completion of the contract, and have him arrested after the slaves had been received and paid for.

We have thus far related the train of events which led to Murrel's capture, tersely and drily, in fact, epitomizing the testimony in the case; but before arriving at the crisis, let us for a moment consider the peculiarly dangerous and extraordinary position in which Stewart was placed.

He had embarked upon the enterprise with the sole intention of recovering the negroes of his friend, and bringing the thief to justice; but in pursuit of his design, had

raised the curtain of an arcanum of crime as frightful as it was unexpected.

At first he probably supposed Murrel to be vamping with regard to his power, to the number of his clan, and the horrid extent of his plans; but when, as he proceeded with the details of his plot, giving name after name of persons well known in the community, and many of them in offices of power and trust, and when he exhibited to him proof that he had already commenced negotiations with some of the prominent Abolitionists in the North, to obtain their countenance and assistance, he became convinced of the frightful reality of Murrel's statements.*

* Murrel stated that, with great difficulty, he had succeeded in opening a correspondence with A CELEBRATED ENGLISH LECTURER WHO WAS AT THAT TIME ADVOCATING THE CAUSE OF ABOLITION IN THE EASTERN STATES. We give a copy of a letter said to have been received from him upon the subject. The correspondence was conducted through a special agent, being of a too imminently dangerous character to be trusted to the mail:—

Boston, March 18th, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 4th has come to hand, and its contents have been carefully observed. I think you can count upon the aid you demand with tolerable certainty by the time you name. I approve of your arrangements, and can perceive abundant justification for your views. Could the blacks effect a general concert of action against their tyrants, and let loose the arm of destruction among them and their property, so that the judgment of God might be visibly seen and felt, it would reach the flinty heart of the tyrant. We can do much at the East, by working on the sympathy of the people; but when we remonstrate with a Southern tyrant, he counts the cost of his annual income, and haughtily hurls it in our teeth, and tells us that the Old and New Testaments both teach that slavery is right. We must teach the tyrant in another way. His interests must be affected before he will repent. We can prepare the feelings of most of the Northern and Eastern people for the final consummation of the great work, by lecturing. Interest is the great cement that binds the few Northerners who are friendly to Southern tyrants; and if their cities, with all the merchandise in the country, were destroyed, and their banks plundered of all the specie, thousands of Eastern capitalists would suffer great loss, and would henceforth consider a slave country an unsafe place to make investments, and thousands would leave the country. This state of affairs would naturally diminish the value of slave property, and disgust even the tyrant with the policy of slavery, while the country would be thus in a state of anarchy and poverty. Their banking institutions and credit sunk into disrepute

The imminent peril which Stewart incurred by this discovery cannot, we think, be properly appreciated by those who have spent their lives in a densely-populated country, one where a man is comparatively free from the danger of assassination, and where such a clue as Stewart now possessed would be followed up by an active band of drilled police, hied on by efficient magistrates, and a powerful and independent press.

Imagine the situation of our hero, compelled, if he would sustain the part of a true-hearted, honest man, to enter the field of battle alone, and single-handed, against a host of known, and perhaps thousands of secret enemies, to contend against them at a sacrifice of money, time, probably reputation, and life itself, and all to preserve the lives and fortunes of those who, he must have known, would never appreciate the sacrifice, and who would, and did, believe that his knowledge was only derived from his guilty connection with the pirates, and his betrayal of their plot but stimulated by the hope of great reward.

Many men of passing honesty, situated as he was, would, with the fear of death before their eyes, have enrolled themselves in the devilish service. Most men would have consulted their safety in flight, and kept the frightful

with the commercial world, it would be an easy matter to effect the total abolition of slavery.

Desperate causes require desperate remedies.

And suppose the blacks should refuse to serve the tyrants any longer, what right would the General Government have to interfere with the internal disputes of a State respecting her State laws! The blacks would not be rebelling against the General Government, neither would they be invaders—but Americans, and citizens of a State refusing obedience to a State law and power that are, before God, utterly null and void, being an audacious usurpation of His Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, and a presumptuous transgression of the holy commandments, which should be abrogated by the Christian world. Would not the General Government have more right to interfere in behalf of the injured and oppressed than that of the tyrants and oppressors! The United States' troops would be finely employed in the Southern plantations, forcing obedience to the unjust laws of a few tyrants and man-stealers.

The Southerners are great men for *State rights*, and in a case like the above, we would give them an opportunity to exercise their sovereign functions. Make slavery unpopular among the people of the United States, and Southern tyrants will find a poor comforter in the General Government.

secret to themselves. Not one in a million would have acted with the energy, fearlessness of life, and stern determination of purpose, of Virgil Stewart.

To resume the thread of our narrative. Upon arriving at Erwin's, Stewart informed him, as far as he dared, of his momentous discoveries, and warned him to observe great caution in the conducting of his plot for Murrel's capture.

On the next day Murrel arrived, and on the succeeding, left with Stewart for home. They pursued the same road over which they had already travelled, and parted near the village of Wesley; Murrel hastening home, and Stewart turning off upon a by-road, until the former should have had sufficient time to have passed through the village, and then hastened to enter it, and to visit the person who had assisted him when he had before passed through on his eventful journey. On the next night he arrived at Henning's house, and there he related some part of his extraordinary adventures.

Before Stewart, fatigued and worn both in body and mind as he was, had arisen, Henning had summoned a number of his neighbors to consult with them. But one opinion prevailed; that it was necessary to collect a sufficient force and arrest Murrel. Stewart was somewhat indignant at Henning's proceedings, and remonstrated against what he deemed a too precipitate course; but in vain. Murrel was arrested by an officer with a numerous posse of armed men, on the same night. Even while upon the route to the jail, some of his followers must have succeeded in mixing with the guard, for the bands which secured him were cut; a pistol was fired from a piece of woods at Stewart, and the ball cut his bridle-rein in two. As soon as Murrel was incarcerated, Stewart and young Henning set out to obtain testimony, and the villain himself prepared, if possible, to defeat them. News of his capture had been sent through the entire clan, and they were all up and on the move, as spiteful, determined, and ready for mischief, as the disturbed denizens of a hornet's nest.

It is a miracle that Stewart escaped from assassination. He was surrounded by unknown dangers; men whom he deemed his friends—even two persons in whose hands he had intrusted his property, and with one of

whom he lived—proved afterwards to have been of the number of the Land Pirates.

His every step was dogged; his house was watched at night; an attempt was made to enter his room, and murder him in bed, which was frustrated by his watchfulness; for, discovering that there were persons prowling about his house, he remained at the window, and shot a man as he was about entering it. At last, an attempt was made to poison him at the house where he boarded, and from which he was saved by his having most providentially discovered the true character and designs of the host and hostess.

This discovery was in keeping with his other wonderful adventures. He met one of the gang who did not know him, and suspecting who the man might be, tried him with the robber-sign, and found his suspicions verified. From him, Stewart learned the intended rescue of Murrel; his plan to have him (Stewart) arrested for counterfeiting, and the different preparations for defense if brought to trial.*

* The following papers were found upon Murrel's person previous to his trial; whether they were the rough drafts of his scheme against Stewart, or whether he had prepared them, but had no opportunity to transmit them to the right parties, we know not:—

CERTIFICATE.

This day *personally* appeared before us, &c., Jehu Barney, James Tucker, Thomas Dark, William Loyd, &c., who being sworn in due form of law, do depose and say that they were present, and saw Stewart, of Yellow Busha, on the evening of the first day of February last, in company with John Murrel, at the house of Jehu Barney, over the Mississippi river; and that he, the said Stewart, informed us that he was in *pursuit* of John Murrel, for stealing two negro men from preacher Henning, and his son Richard, in Madison county, near Denmark; and that he had told Murrel his name was Hues, and he wished us to call him Hues in Murrel's hearing. We also recollect to have heard him, the said Stewart, say distinctly that *he was to get five hundred dollars for finding said negroes and causing said Murrel to be convicted for stealing them.* Said Stewart did not say who was to give him this reward, but he stated that he held the obligation of several rich men for that amount. (Signed) —

The above is a *copy* given to me by one who heard him make the admission therein contained in your presence. You will therefore please send me the names of all that *will* testify to these facts in writing, and also send me the names of all and every man that will certify these witnesses to be men of truth.

J. MURREL.

P. S. But above all things, arrest him (the said

Murrel escaped, fled, was finally traced to Florence, Ala., recaptured and taken back to Madison.

He did not then by any means despair, and having engaged one of the most skillful lawyers in the State, and himself prepared a vast amount of suborned testimony, he hoped to escape from justice and to fix upon his enemy the brand of infamy. Here again his calculations were overthrown in a manner as startling to him and his friends as it was unexpected. Stewart had taken down the names of every one of the clan whom Murrel had named to him upon the journey. This he did while riding by his side, writing them upon scraps of paper, or if impossible then, at the next time that he had an opportunity. When upon the stand he narrated, in a clear and concise manner, the whole of his adventures, and drew from his pocket the very scraps of paper upon which were written the names of the conspirators.

witness) for passing the six twenty dollar bills. You will have to go out in Yellow Busha, Yellow Busha county, near the centre, for him. Undoubtedly this matter will be worth your attention, for if it be one, or two, or three hundred dollars, the gentleman to whom he passed (100) it, can present it before a magistrate and take a judgment for the amount, and his provision store, &c, is worth that much money. I shall conclude with a claim on you for your strictest attention; my distressed wife will probably call on you, and if she does, you may answer all her requests without reserve. Yours, &c., J. MURREL.

We subjoin the certificate of the Clerk of the Court, concerning these papers:—

State of Tennessee, Madison County.

I, Henry W. McCorry, Clerk of the Circuit Court of Madison county aforesaid, certify that the foregoing is a true and perfect copy, in word and letter, of the instrument of writing filed in my office, and read in evidence against John A. Murrel, upon his trial for negro-stealing, at the July term of our said Court, 1834.

In testimony of which I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my private seal, (there being no public seal of office,) at my office in Jackson, the 29th day of September, A. D. 1835.

[Sealed]

H. W. MCCORRY.

There was a great confusion in Murrel's camp. His witnesses walked, one by one, quietly out of the Court-house, until all the important ones were among the missing; they were the very men whose names had just been read.

Murrel's last hope fell to the ground; he was convicted of negro-stealing, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in the State Penitentiary.

Great was the consternation of the clan at the incarceration of their leader, and at the frustration of their bloody plot.

Many of the Grand Council, however, did not abandon their design, trusting that a story apparently so incredible as Stewart had related would not be generally believed by the people of the Southwest, and also relying on the number and great dissemination of the clan, whereby a thousand tongues would be engaged in blackening Stewart's character, and ridiculing his tale. The latter, however, determined to persevere in despite of difficulty, danger, and defamation, and in February, 1835, published a small pamphlet which contained an account of his adventures, and an exposure of the plot.

The time for the general rising of the negroes had been originally the 25th of December, 1835, which was selected as the Christmas holiday, always a saturnalia for the Southern negroes, and they might assemble without suspicion. The attention of the people, however, was completely awakened, the belief in Stewart's story general, and it was evident to even the most sanguine of the conspirators that this time must be abandoned.

Ruel Blake, who was the acknowledged chief of the Mississippi squad, after consulting with his brother villains, issued his mandate that the time for action must be accelerated, and fixed upon the 4th of July. There is no doubt but that Murrel himself was advised of this change of plan, and that he acquiesced in it.

P. P.

(To be continued.)

TWENTY MORE SONNETS; WITH A PREFACE AND NOTES.

THE PREFACE.

THE expectation believed to be generally entertained by a large class of readers of the *Review*, in consequence of a half promise at the conclusion of an article entitled "Twenty Sonnets, with a Preface and Notes," published in the first number of the second volume, (new series,)—which half promise, or hint, stated that "should the writer be found to have contributed to the rational enjoyment of his readers, it was not impossible but that he might be encouraged to further efforts thereafter,"—has led to the collection and digestion of a similar series of Poems, of an equal number, and, it is hoped, not inferior in point of quality. This series it is now the writer's purpose to introduce to the attention of the candid reader, through a few brief proleptical observations.

Poetry has, in all ages of the world, been held in high esteem among the most civilized and intelligent races of mankind. In rude and barbarous nations it forms the vehicle in which the events of history, extraordinary occurrences in the material universe, and the achievements of heroes on the field of battle, are transmitted down the highway of time. As nations progress in refinement and emerge from the darkness of the earlier periods, Poetry begins to be cultivated, along with the other Fine Arts, and the *Belles Lettres*, for its capability of improving the mind, by invigorating the intellectual powers and enlarging the scope of the perceptive faculties. Thus we find, that in every phase of the progressive development of the human species, this art, however much it may be derided by some, and looked upon as a necessary evil by others, is always cultivated with more or less ability and success by a numerous portion of each generation.

In our own fortunate and happy country, how numerous have been the aspirants for success in Poetry! Young as we still are

in point of time, compared with the nations of the Old World, our periodical press bears witness that the ambition for excellence in this department of writing is no less prevalent among the Upspringing than among the Downtrodden millions. Could a full bibliotheca be compiled of the names of all who, since the era of the Declaration of our Independence, have essayed poetical excellence, with the titles of their productions, it is probable the work would exceed in bulk a volume of the quarto edition of Webster's Dictionary of the English Language.

And particularly, as the writer took occasion to remark in the preface to the preceding article, to which allusion has already been made, has this tendency to poetical composition manifested itself in the direction of the Sonnet. The question here naturally presents itself to the mind, Why should this particular form, inasmuch as it is esteemed one of the most difficult and ungrateful in our tongue, have been so constantly, we might almost say so universally, selected by our youthful bards? Why should the budding inspiration of our young geniuses be cramped into a shape to which only a few of our greatest masters of ideas, emotions, and words have been able to conform? Admitting the fact to be as stated, which none can controvert, let us endeavor briefly to offer a solution of these interrogatories.

Two causes present themselves at once to the writer's apprehension, either of which separately, or both conjointly, must be deemed to have been instrumental in producing the admitted result.

1st. The constant disposition manifested by our young writers, who contemplate being poets, to produce sonnets, may have arisen in a majority of cases from that natural and pardonable vanity of youth which teaches it to ape the dignity of manhood. Thus the

day on which the boy's lower extremities are first invested with separate clothing, or even anterior to that, the time when, with those extremities inserted into the paternal galigaskins, the "*parvus Iulus*," as Maro hath it,

"*Sequiturque patrem non passibus æquis*,"

is remembered as one of the happiest periods of existence. Why may not the great proportion of sonnets be mainly or to a great extent attributable to a corresponding ambition in our infant poets to assume the habiliments, and walk in the shoes, of the fathers of the art?

2dly. The constant predilection for sonnets in preference to easier forms of verse, manifested by our youthful poets, may have arisen, wholly or in a measure, from there being a constant demand with the public for that particular kind of composition, creating of necessity a corresponding constant supply. This was the view taken of the matter by the writer, in the preface referred to above, and is still, after mature consideration, the one which he is most inclined to favor. For were it not that there existed such a demand, the market would have long ago been overstocked with pieces of this description; writers, too, however childishly enthusiastic in their desire to imitate the strength of mature cultivation, would have ceased to publish what was received with neglect. Even those amateurs who do not subsist by literary labor, and only write from an irrepressible desire of approbation, or as an agreeable amusement (for, strange as it may appear, there are such)—even those, it must be opined, would have refrained from writing what had not power to attract readers. Some, it is true, are so obstinately blind that they will go on writing and printing, looking for their reward to a secret self-approbation, and thus passing life in a pleasing dream; preferring the flattering shadow to the candid reality. But the proportion of such cannot be deemed sufficient to account for the immense annual production in the sonnet line, though it may to a degree explain the astonishing diversity apparent in the quality of the manufactured article.

No! The more the subject is subjected to careful consideration, the more conclusively does the conviction force itself upon the mind that there has existed, and still does exist, an active demand for "short poems of fourteen lines, of which," to follow Dr. John-

son's remarkably satisfactory definition, "*the rhymes are adjusted by a particular rule*." The dictionary adds for our information:—"It has not been used by any man of eminence since Milton,"—an assertion which, however true it may have been two thirds of a century ago, is one which few at the present day will not coincide with the present writer in considering much too broad to be applied in our time without qualification. This remark is made, however, without the intention of suggesting any personal reference, either to the author of these ensuing sonnets, or any of his contemporaries.

Indeed, the author of these is where it can be of but little consequence to him whether he was an eminent man or not. Much question was made on the publication of the former series, (already three or four times alluded to,) whether the present writer, whose duty it then, as now, was to present those productions to the reader, with an appropriate introductory and explanatory commentary, were or were not the author of them. This may have been a compliment to his powers of assimilation and identification, which enabled him to assume the mental characteristics exhibited in writings of which he was required to treat—or may have arisen from certain ambiguities of expression into which he, through his anxiety for *condensation*, and in the heat of composition, may have been unwarily betrayed. However the mistake may have arisen, it should be corrected, in justice to an amiable man, as well as in vindication of the writer's integrity.

The author of these sonnets, the reader will be pained to learn, is *not living*. It was the writer's intention to have employed some distinguished person to write his life, in the style of biography in which the lives of poets are usually written in costly editions of their works. But as most of those competent to such a task are engaged in illustrating biblical portraitures, he has been obliged to perform it himself, according to the best of his poor ability.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR OF THE SONNETS.

Biography is a species of composition of which the utility cannot be questioned. Had the writer the works at hand to refer to, he believes he could show that it has been ably discussed and defended by many of the best writers. Mr. Addison, if his memory serve,

has demonstrated the value of biography very clearly.

The lives of literary men and artists usually present less material for biography than those of persons mingling actively in the world, the chief incidents of them being only like those which occurred in the family of the Vicar of Wakefield—"migrations from the blue bed to the brown."

As a general rule, also, with regard to poets especially, whose hearts are exposed, and who have much ado to preserve privacy enough around themselves to retain their integrity, it is well to let the departed have the benefit of all the respectability they have been able to maintain in life. What good did it ever do the world to know that Coleridge took opium, or that Lamb smoked? Opium-eating is a common vice, and for smoking—children smoke in our midst.

As regards the subject of this memoir, therefore, the writer knows much more than it would be proper to communicate. He was of a reserved disposition, and there appears no sufficient reason why the world should know any more of him now that he is out of the way than he chose to let it while he was here.

As respects the dates and incidents of his life, the writer has not deemed them of sufficient importance to inquire into, and encumber these pages withal. The answer of *Viola* to the *Duke*, in the "Twelfth Night," when he questions her concerning her imaginary sister, gives all that is necessary to be said of him in a single word :

Duke. And what's her history ?

Viola. A b'ank, my lord.

He was born in — in the year —, lived in — and died in —, A. D. —, in the —th year of his age. All that remains or is known of him are several pieces in verse, and a number of sonnets, of which forty have now been collected and presented to the public.

It was intended to have concluded this account of him with an estimate of his character, and a parallel between him and Pope ; but, on reflection, the writer has concluded to place all that it seems necessary to have said touching his peculiarities in the critical and miscellaneous remarks to be interspersed among the sonnets.

In the above piece of Model Biography, the writer has endeavored to conform to

what would appear the rules for writing the lives of poets, deduced from a collation, or rather a colature, of the mass of such writings in our language. As an illustration of his idea he will take two biographies that happen to lie within reach of his arm. "The Life of Shakspeare," by Mr. Rowe, beginneth :

"It seems to be a kind of respect due to the memory of excellent men, especially of those whom their wit and learning have made famous, to deliver some account of themselves as well as their works, to posterity. *For this reason*, how fond do we see some people of discovering any little personal story of the great men of antiquity ! their families, the common accidents of their lives, and even their shape, make, and features, have been the subject of critical inquiries. How trifling soever this curiosity may seem to be, it is certainly *very natural*," &c., &c.

And yet Mr. Rowe's life is a very good one, and written, as appears to the present writer, in a delightful spirit of candor and calmness, notwithstanding the *non sequitur* with which the second sentence commences, and the curious thinking in circles which characterizes the whole of the opening paragraph.

To an edition of "Cowper," the same in a notice of which the critical judgment of this Review was pronounced very decidedly, adverse to Harperian orthographical alterations, a biography of that eminent poet is prefixed, commencing thus :

"Among the alterations and improvements (*for they are not always convertible terms*) which the last century has introduced into our literature, one of the most decided alterations, and one of the greatest improvements also, has been made in the department of biography."

The profound meditateness apparent in this sentence, the nice distinction hit upon in the parenthesis, and the vigor of the whole expression, would suggest the inference that the Rev. Thomas Dale, its author, had found a model in a style which the present writer had deemed peculiar to himself. But those who attain great excellence in any art must expect to behold themselves followed by troops of imitators. The writer is content that others should adopt his mode of winning the meed of approbation, provided they permit him to remain in the quiet enjoyment of his laurels. Of all the virtues

a literary man should possess, none is more important than that frame of mind which renders him insensible to petty annoyances.

These preliminary observations cannot be more appropriately concluded than by the remark that, should they be longer protract-

ed, the intelligent reader might justly complain that he was debarred from the pleasure they had already led him to anticipate from the sonnets. They are therefore terminated with the present sentence.

THE SONNETS.

"The object and indeed ambition of the present compiler has been to offer to the public a *BODY OF ENGLISH POETRY*, such as ought at once to satisfy individual curiosity and justify our national pride." HAZLITT.

"Walter was smooth, but Dryden taught to *jine*
The varying verse, the full resounding line." POPE.

"'Tis not a pyramid of marble stone,
Though high as our ambit-*ion*;
'Tis not a tomb cut out in brass, which can
Give life to the ashes of a man,
But verses only :'" COWLEY.

"I have always been of opinion that virtue sinks deepest into the heart of man when it comes well recommended by the powerful charms of poetry." SIR RICHARD STEELE.

"An Open Place Thunder and Lightning. Enter three Witches." SHAKESPEARE.

I.

As when from unknown depths in empty space,
Regions above the starry floor of heaven,
Beyond the Bear, the Bull, the Sisters seven,
Biela's comet, in his rapid race,
Touches at last the far crystalline sphere
Wherein like gem of chrysolite is set
Saturn or Herschel; hardly seen as yet
Through Tuscan tube, and though the air be clear,
Maury or Pierce all night supinely lying,
No tall spy, nor aught but thin bright spot,
And none else care if aught they spy or not—
So when the SONNETTEER, from heaven down flying,
Dragging the Muses nine, the sky has cleft,
The learned may see he has "a few more left."

The design of this sonnet was apparently to introduce to the reader the series of which it forms the commencement. The poet's comparison of himself to a comet, may seem at first view less appropriate than it would have been had he desired to present himself as the author of a tale; but when the resemblance occasioned by the great eccentricity of the orbits of comets is considered, its appositeness will be at once perceived. As comets make their appearance in the visible heavens only at long intervals, so, the poet would say, it is with himself, who now after two years' absence again appears in the celestial region of song.

The "crystalline sphere" mentioned is probably the same alluded to in the following passage from Milton's "Paradise Lost":—

"They pass the planets seven, and pass the fix'd,
And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talk'd of," &c.

The epithet "supinely" is used in connection with the names of two of our most distinguished observers, in consequence of the position assumed by astronomers in

making observations requiring careful and protracted employment of the visual organs.

Respecting the phrase "a few more left," it is deemed sufficient to remark that it was rendered popular in our principal cities, a few years since, by an itinerant pedlar and improviser of doggerel rhyme, who acquired a brief notoriety as the "Razor-Strop Man."

II.

"The Poet's" soul is like the mighty ocean
Encompassing the spherical huge world,
Where windy Will and storm Endeavor hurled
Across its face, excite a dread commotion;
Where sea-gull Thought and petrel Fancy fly,
And Headache's gloomy clouds obscure Hope's sun,
Especially when fair-day Dinner's done,
And monstrous whales of Vanity spout high,
And porpus Prudence rolls her glossy side,
And schools of alewife Education swim;
And where, when PAY's resistless surges ride,
Then Labor, dreadful Unrest, fierce and grim,
Blowing odd words from Memory's nooks and crooks,
Throws tons of sea-weed on the Beach of Books!

There is a peculiar boldness of personification manifested in the above, which is so much at variance with our Bard's general unornamented melody, that the conviction forces itself upon the mind, either that this was written by some other hand, or else that it was an effort on the part of its author to imitate the phraseology of another School. As regards the first supposition, the present writer can aver that there is no reason, arising from chirographical dissimilarity or any like circumstance, for believing it to have had a different authorship from the rest; moreover, he has made diligent search, regardless of the labor required, through the writings of that class of poets, chiefly transcendental, of one of the peculiarities of which

it is either an imitation or an example, without having met with it, (and surely no one capable of producing a work of such fruitful fancy would be indifferent respecting its paternity;) he is therefore constrained to the opinion that it is a genuine imitation—whether intended as burlesque or serious, it is difficult to decide, owing to the extravagancies of the manner of writing upon which it is modelled. The placing the first two words, “The Poet,” in quotation marks, would however seem to indicate a direct intention to ridicule some of our youthful aspirants for poetic fame, who delight to don, in imagination, the robes and garlands of that ideal Personage, and according to their conception of the character, to appear before the public in verses which constitute a sort of autobiographical record of the state of their digestive organs.

III.

I hate your silly, quaint, affected rhymes,
Your transcendental, high fantastic stuff,
With antique words *bedight*. I’ve read enough,
Too much, in sooth, of these poetic mimes,
Who only care to make their pieces look
As if they’d cut them out of some old book;
Who shine in borrowed plumage, and like clowns,
Go drest in party-colored verbs and nouns;
Who style themselves each one “The Poet”—pah!
How more than full is this our world of gammon—
How much asparagus, how little salmon!
“The Poet”—yes, O yes, why not? ha! ha!
Why, I (though I make no pretence that way)
Am more a poet than such apes as they.

In this, if the writer do not misapprehend the poet, an intention may also be traced similar to that which was observed to characterize the preceding; and it seems here to be more undisguised, and expressed with more seriousness of honest indignation. Yet even in this so evidently satirical production, observe how the acrimony and severity of the censure is tempered by a percolating spirit of good nature! “*Bedight*” he uses, as will be perceived, as if to commit the very fault he so warmly condemns, and thus deprive his diatribe of its sting! And how beautifully does an innate modesty peep through and qualify the conscious pride of superiority in the parenthesis in the penultimate line—“*though I make no pretence that way*”—Can anything be finer than this?

The moral of this sonnet reminds us forcibly of some expressions put into the mouth of one of the principal personages in Shakespeare’s play of “*Love’s Labor Lost*.” There is certainly a remarkable coincidence of sentiment:—

“Taffeta phrases, silken terms precise,
Three-pil’d hyperboles, spruce *affectation*,
Figures pedantical; these summer-flies
Have blown me full of maggot ostentation:
I do forswear them.”

IV.

Still, snowy winter reigns o’er all the land,
The light winds crackle through the leafless trees,
The air grows frosty clear, the warm brooks freeze,
On the bleak beaches drifts the dry white sand,
And awful dark the solemn sea-waves roar.
Now inland far, from many a farm house gray,
When silent evening hides the light of day,
The cheerful firelight gleams o’er pastures hoar,
Showing, perchance, some low-ceiled kitchen, where
The ancient chimney sings with merry sound,
While merrier faces its broad hearth surround—
There stands the old October pitcher, there
Great greenings roast and juicy pears remain red,
And monstrous yellow squashes hang o’erhead!

Rural scenes and objects have always held a place among the admissible themes for pictorial representation and poetical description, partly on account of their natural picturesqueness, and also because the character of the population in agricultural districts is marked, in general, by a cheerful contentedness of disposition, the contemplation of which is soothing to the mind. It is not an easy matter, however, to depict, either by the use of the pencil or pen, a scene which shall possess perfect truth to nature, and yet in all cases leave a pleasurable impression upon the observer. But how unerring are the perceptions of the eye of Genius, as manifested in the above sonnet! Had the picture ended with the view of the farm-house from a point of view requiring the beholder to place himself in the winter evening outside, it would have been *too cold*; but the poet’s instinct guided him at once to the kitchen fire, which by adding a genial warmth to the scene, diffuses an air of comfort over the whole, and renders it no less agreeable than picturesque.

Alas! it is to be feared that such scenes are becoming every year more rare! This is an effect of the progress of society, foreseen and foretold by the late author of the “*Pleasures of Hope*”:—

“Come, bright improvement! on the ear of time,
And rule the spacious world from clime to clime;
Thy handmaid arts shall every wild explore,
Trace every wave, and culture every shore.
On Erie’s banks, where tigers steal along,
And the dread Indian chaunts a dismal song,” &c.

The only tigers now found on the shores of Erie are not native denizens of her forests, but isolated specimens, born in cages or imported from distant climes to gratify a laudable curiosity—such is their present rarity; and the copper hue of the aboriginal Indian (no longer “*dread*”) is rapidly fading into the fairness of the Saxon, Gallic and Celtic

paces. What may not be anticipated from the future, as long as "improvement" continues to be a passenger in the same car with Time? What, indeed!

V.

Have you ne'er seen that poor crazed man who walks
Daily, in faded clothes, around our streets?
He takes no heed of any whom he meets;
But evermore he waves his hand and talks,
Or seems to talk, for none can understand
What 'tis he says, or why he beckons so,
With outstretched arm, impatient, to and fro,
Now in entreaty, now in high command,
Addressing earnestly the ambient air:—
Perchance he is a poet, one whose eye
Sees myriad living spirits hovering there,
In fancy's fields that our world overlie,
Where men are manly, maidens true as fair,
And he with them holds ever converse high.

This sonnet appears to the writer to require no comment. Such individuals as the one described may be met with in the streets of every populous city, and the supposition that they are poets, though admissible, is probably more fanciful than correct.

VI.

First take your steak—no, first I guess you buy
Your steak—then take it, pound it well; then cut
It up in pieces small as—thumbies. But
(How these things perplex one! Really I
Was never born to be a cook) before
The cutting, have some dough, *viz* dough, I mean,
And take a bowl well greased inside, but clean,
(Of course,) and line therewith, within and o'er.
Fill in with steak, pork, sav'ry herbs, and things
That make good gravy. Fit a plate on top,
Tie up in cloth and boll without a stop
Two hours. You'll have a BEEFSTEAK PUDDING kings
Might relish; *Vic*. I'm sure must love to eat.
You know Ruth Pinch? She told me this receipt.

To those who object to the cultivation of the muses on the ground that such cultivation is unproductive of any *practical utility*, our poet has in the above offered an irrefragable reply. With a severe directness of diction, and a perfect mastery of the difficulties of language inseparable from the subject, he has shown here that the highest skill may be applied to the decoration of subjects admitting in themselves little adornment; and who shall say what were his feelings while penning the above lines? Who shall describe the rapture which must have suffused his cheek and throbbed in his bosom as he finally overcame the perplexity he confesses to have experienced in the inception of his design? Standing, as he did, on the threshold of a new department of art—a department combining the utmost boldness with the extremest simplicity; bending the noblest powers to the service of a necessity common to universal humanity; supplying, in a word, a variety of food for the body directly, through an intellectual repast, the richest, the most affecting, and the most

nourishing conceivable—can we suppose that no consciousness of the dawn of his coming immortality shed its rays into the secret recesses of his spirit?

VII.

Between the boughs of these rich-blooming trees,
Within yon orchard's grassy winding glades,
I caught but now a glimpse of white-gowned maids—
See—yonder where the gentle south-west breeze
Spreads wavy shadows o'er the sward, they're dancing,
Young country lads and girls with golden hair;
Many a heart is free and happy there,
Many an eye with life and love is glancing,
And hark—I can their silver voices hear.
Alas, I have no sympathy with gladness;
Gay scenes like these but fill my soul with sadness,
For when I feel how soon has come the scare
And yellow leaf, how fate my life has curst—
O God! it seems as though my heart would burst!

And who that passes from the previous sonnet to this, in which we have, almost as visible as if depicted with the pencil, a distant view of a pic-nic party in summer, can question the versatility of the genius which produced them or hesitate to award it the mead of unrestricted approbation? Truly, in his choice of subjects, our poet seems to have adopted the motto of the ancient classic poet:—

"Homo sum, et nihil alienum a me humanum Plato!"

What gave rise to the depression of spirit which appears to manifest itself in the above, or whether it were not wholly imaginary, there would be little profit in endeavoring to ascertain. We all have our troubles, and of those most likely to afflict individuals of a contemplative and poetic temperament, pecuniary difficulties are by no means the least prominent.

VIII.

What signifies the life of man, an' t'were
Na for the lasses O? Not much, yet still
Two cases I'll in this smooth rhyme give, where
The love of lasses operated ill.
My old soft-hearted friend! you know too late,
That marriage is a mirage, an illusion;
Your lass, alas, turns out no pleasant mate,
You've found the fasion few shun a confusion.
And you, my croppy-headed boy, whom now
I see, with cautious glance and footstep quick,
Approaching yonder barrel's bung-hole—How
Mistaken you will be. Just smell your stick
Before you draw't across your face. Why, *thar*,
I told you so. 'Taint lasses; it is *TAR*!

There is here displayed an ingenuity of construction which shows how well our poet knew how to "build the lofty rime." The most extraordinary forms of expression are wrought into the very substance of the whole, with an apparent ease that it is sufficient to pronounce little short of miraculous. And how Martin Luther, had he lived in our time and among us, supposing his taste to have been such as it was, would

have admired this perfect mastery of the common vernacular!

IX.

My fallen brother man, I read thee well ;
Thine ardent, loving soul, thy noble mind,
That would be strong, e'en yet, could'st at thou but find
One resting place. Thou needest not me tell,
How, though benumbed with wine, thy heart still aches—
How thou would'st live a quiet sober life,
But hop'st for peace of home, for love of wife
No more. I understand—my pity wakes.
Alas, I cannot save thee! Far away,
Down the deep waters, thou art sinking fast,
Each aimless struggle feeble than the last ;
Thy face, though still upturned towards the day,
But sends to me the rigid look of death,
As, here above, I strive and gasp for breath.

Let us turn from the gloomy thoughts
inspired by the above to one in which the
poet presents himself not in the stern lan-
guage of the moralist, but in the fascinating
phrases of a far more agreeable personage :—

X.

"Upon my word, ma'am, we can't put this lower ;
But see'n it's you, we'll call it three and nine.
The goods I'll warrant good. No other store
Has got this kind of article but mine.
Three shillings! Really now, we shouldn't make
A single cent at that, we shouldn't indeed—
If we sell under cost, why, we must break ;
Say three and thrip—it's just the thing you'll need—
Just *heft* it. There! And then what colors! See—
So apt for graceful forms—they'll never fade—
Ten yards, ma'am?—thanky—bill to Mr. B."
If competition be "the soul of trade,"
Then these smooth salesmen whom it nourishes
Must be the "limbs and outward flourishes."

The admiration of at least one portion of
our race may be confidently challenged for
the above. Need it be mentioned that we
allude to the fair sex? The writer appre-
hends it need not. The style of language,
no less than the topic of argument, are so
palpable an imitation of that to which they
are accustomed, and which is so often capti-
vating to them, in their "daily walk and
conversation," that the above can never lack
admirers among the softer and more im-
pressible moiety of humanity. In very nearly
the words of a distinguished poet :—

"There is a pleasure in cheap damaged goods,
A rapture in the crowded store,"

which they only can appreciate.

XI.

What means this crowd? I see—a poor old horse
Has fallen. Heavy shafts press on his side ;
To gain his feet again in vain he's tried,
And now he lies stretched out, a seeming corpse.
His fellows in the team stand still and wait ;
They cannot help him ; they've enough to do
To keep their own smooth hoofs from slipping too.
The careless driver wishes, now too late,
He'd had his shoes attended to in time,
That this mischance might not have happened thus
To put him out, and raise up such a nuisance—
And then he swears in mainly wrath sublime,
To pay his beast for so untimely dropping,
He'll give him, when he's up, a mighty wapping!

Again we behold the bard directing his
energies to the inculcation of practical truth.
By this picture of an accident, of by no
means unfrequent occurrence in our streets,
he is to be understood as holding out for the
improvement of the reader the virtue of
prudence, by setting its opposite, the vice of
carelessness, in a ridiculous light. Moreover,
in making his carman lose his temper
through a misfortune which was the result
of his own want of forethought, have we not
an apt illustration of the consequences of a
single dereliction of duty extending into the
sphere of other duties of a widely different
character from those in regard to which this
original dereliction originated!

The word "wapping," as here used, is not
to be found in "Webster," but as it is no worse
spelled than many which are, and as it is
necessary to the rhyme, it has been deemed
suitable to retain it.

XII.

I pity much our horses at their tasks,
When, harnessed in unwieldy drays, they bear
The weight and jar of crates of crockery ware,
Or bundled hay, or huge molasses casks ;
And when there is an opportunity,
(As on the ferry boat on River East,
Where I have noticed many a patient beast
Standing 'neath sugar burden tremblingly,)
I pat their necks, and kind words to them speak ;
As thus, I say, "Good fellow! keep up heart ;
Consider me your friend ; I take your part ;
There I never mind ; we'll meet again next week"—
They nod, and twist their ears, and move away,
Thinking 'bout nothing else for half that day.

It is an old maxim, that an individual of
true benevolence is benevolent not only to
his own species but also to the brute crea-
tion. A fine poet has remarked that he
would rather not cultivate the friendship of
any one who could willingly set foot upon a
worm i'the bud—so tender were his feel-
ings. Still, when one is engaged in reading
or in conversation of an interesting character,
it requires great self-restraint on suddenly
finding a voracious mosquito draining the
life-blood from his veins, not with uplifted
hand to crush the wretched insect into an
impalpable powder.

XIII.

Through Greene street rumbling comes a butcher's waggon ;
Under it walks a bulldog, surly, grim,
Crop-eared, brass-collared, fierce as any dragon ;
No prudent man would like to tackle him.
Glouring about him with his leaden eyes,
Another dog he spies, shaggy and black
But small, not more than two thirds his great size ;
At him he darts and throws him on the back—
"Call your dog off!" "No, let 'em fight it out,"
The butcher says. "Agreed," says black one's master,
"Peter, wake up there! mind what you're about!"
He hears and starts, as steam starts, only faster,
When from the valve the engineer has let it,—
Hurrah! It's good to see that big one get it!

The condensation in this sonnet, which is similar in spirit to the previous one, and therefore requires no particular comment, is particularly worthy of observation. There is a wonderful display of poetic power and stern dignity in the first quatrain, which will be found rarely equalled by any passage of no greater extent among the offspring of the English muses.

XIV.

How still and fast the thickening snow-flakes fall !
On distant thresholds hear the stamping feet—
These last year's sights and sounds to me recall,
The memory of days when life was sweet.
Again I walk the woodland path, and see
The wintry mantle, light and seeming warm,
Enveloping the underwood—each tree
Soft whisp'ring in the gently sifting storm.
Again I hear the shrill unechoed cries
Of old companions; O where are they now ?
And when I close my sorrow-moistened eyes,
Expressions joyous pass, of face or brow
Long unremembered, through the darkened brain—
Would God that I might be a boy again !

Another fine instance of our poet's versatility of talent, and peculiar facility in passing from gaiety to gravity and from liveliness to severity. One is at a loss to conceive where a mind capable of such extreme oscillations found its point of rest, or position in which it could, with propriety, have been described as "well balanced." Probably only in that state of calm enjoyment which we experience when the animal functions are fully developed by Health and Exercise, and a sufficiency of Worldly Goods and the various comforts which flow from their possession, free us from anxiety respecting the present, and encourage the flattering anticipations of Hope for the future. The Dignity of laborious industrial occupation does not, with some organizations, compensate for its Inconvenience. With some delicate constitutions (such as the present writer himself possesses) the only point of absolute repose must be looked for in PERFECT LEISURE, with the opportunity for the cultivation of Elegant Literature and the Fine Arts.

XV.

Some souls are like those gloomy forest trees
Where owls do hide, that dread the light of day,
And some like lonesome oaks, that dare the breeze,
Where jealous cawing crows alight away.
Some, fruit trees be, that near rich farm-yards stand,
Where pullets and fat capons roost at night—
Some, marten boxes, wry houses planned
For chatt'ring crowds that work men's ears deslight.
But thou, my love, so fair, so good, so true,
So lovely sweet, so dear—my life's sole joy—
Vntoo what image shall I liken you,
What figure, what similitude employ ?
Thou art a bellfry, nigh to heaven's gate,
Where stockdoves brood, and tender turtles mate !

This is an exquisitely beautiful sonnet, and worthy to rank with the noblest productions

of the Elizabethan era. For sale by all the booksellers except six.

XVI.

Give me to live in some old country town,
Where summer noons might sleep along a shore,
And far off rise the world-embracing floor
Of ocean blue, and cliffs and highlands brown,
With woodland patches in the vales between,
And orchards, fields, and dim-seen distant spires
And one bold point, where gleam the lighthouse fires,
Fill up the view. Where great ships might be seen,
With white sails calmly moving to and fro,
To all climes bound ; and where, on festive days,
Might faintly sound, through twilight's mellow haze,
The city's bells, and cannon echoing slow.
There would I live, removed from care and strife,
And wear away what's left of weary life.

There is a similarity here observable between the line—

"And orchards, fields, and dim-seen distant spires,"

and the following one from a poem of great merit, of which the authorship has been ascribed to Collins, entitled an "Ode to Evening"—

"And hamlets brown, and dim-discovered spires ;"

yet we cannot suppose a plagiarism to have been intended, as the resemblance is so close and obvious as to render it too easy of detection. On the other hand, it is evident that the author must have seen the "Ode to Evening," the sounds being so nearly identical. But perhaps the similarity should be considered as rather owing to a similar susceptibility in the two writers. After all, it is of no consequence either way.

The lines commencing with the fifth from the close admit of alternate rhymes, thus :—

"To all climes bound,
And where, on festive days,
Might faintly sound,
Through twilight's mellow haze,
The city's bells, and cannon echoing slow."

Whether this was intended by the writer to give an effect imitative of the sound of the distant and random gun, is a reasonable subject of conjecture.

XVII.

In looking o'er thy records, old Bay State,
In good old Colony times, I found, they used
(A fact which me consid'rably amused)
To pay a tax in grain, to educate
"Poore schollers." My benevolence was moved ;
Oho, thought I, who knows but those kind laws
Have 'scaped the claw of Time, and still some clause
Remains entire and yet might be improved
To that effect ? I'll make it public—yes—
I think I know of some 'twould benefit,
Some of that class who live among us yet ;
For instance, they who zealously profess
That science, next to pure astrology
The most profound of all—Phonography.

This is more remarkable for kindness of intention than for elegance of construction. Yet it is questionable if any of those wise ones who would amend the orthography of

the language ought to be esteemed within the pale of education. If it were mere Ignorance?—but who shall disenchant those who are *spell-bound* by Conceit?

XVIII.

"With how sad steps, O moon, thou climb'st the skies,
How silently, and with how wan a face!"
Why shin'st thou there, unless to glad the eyes
Of us, whose nights thou light'st, this earthly race?
Thou art our own, thou great green cheery ball—
John Smith owns some of thee, and so does Jones,
Thompson, and Brown, and Green—we own thee all!
Thy valleys deep, and high volcanic cones.
We once had all an equal right in thee,
But some have now acquired a larger share.
Last night thou saw'st, thou could'st not choose but see,
The man with optic tube (the sky was fair)
In Broadway, selling his, sixpence a sight,
Thus turning thee to change at fullest night!

For the information of ladies and persons residing at a distance from the metropolis, it should be stated that the quotation with which the above commences is the opening of a sonnet by Sir Philip Sidney, who was a contemporary of Spenser, A.D., about 1550; which is a good while ago.

A writer in one of the daily papers persists in styling the "optic tube" above-mentioned, a "*glazed stove-pipe*." Personal observation would soon satisfy any one as to the correctness of this; but for the present purpose, perhaps it had better remain a telescope.

XIX.

In darkest nights, while stormily the wind
Rattles the eastern casement, then 'tis good
To stay within, and store up mental food;
But when bright CYNTHIA smiles above, I find
Labor disgusting; then away my quill;
Writing or reading tires the jaded brain,
E'en gentle Will, he courts my eye in vain;
I rather walk alone, and muse, until
I'm lost in memories of Love or Care,
Life's bitterness, the heart's inquietude;
For then, beneath night's solemn solitude,
Comes gentle Sorrow, calming grim Despair,
And clings to one who thinks no shame to feel
Across his cheek her burning tear-drop steal.

The CYNTHIA to whom allusion is here made is the same who gives the title to one of the dramatic compositions of Benjamin Johnson, a writer of considerable celebrity in his time; there is a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, in London, England. This abbey was originally founded by Ed-

ward the Confessor. It is thought to be a fine specimen of architecture.

We have now reached the last in number of this series of writings. One of a different cast from the preceding has been reserved for this place by the writer, who could not bring himself to part from his readers with a sorrowful countenance. However it may have been with the poet whom he has here to the best of his poor ability endeavored to illustrate, it is by no means the "fruitful river in the eye that can denote him truly" on an occasion like the present. To a philosophical mind there is a wide field of enjoyment ever gushing forth out of the common experiences of life; and there is no true wisdom in endeavoring to repress the indulgence or taste for rational pleasures. No! Far from us, and far from our friends, be that frigid philosophy which can contemplate with indifference a scene like the following, and which does not heartily respond to the exclamation at the conclusion!

XX.

When winds, at eve, enrage the rainy sky,
And rivers run from every splashing spout,
And reeking omnibusses, crammed, go by,
And streaming newboys at the corners shout,
And all is heavy, dismal, dark and wet,
To reach at last, through many mishaps dire,
That parlor snug where tea for two is set,
And slippers dry stand by the welcome fire,
And then with her who made the tea to sit,
All care thrown by, as in a blissful trance,
And waste the night, while she doth stockings knit,
In reading some old picturesque romance,
Of castles, forests, ghosts and mysteries—
If this ain't comfort, I don't know what is!

It was originally designed to offer some further explanatory observations in this place, but it has appeared to the writer, on reflection, that his previous comments cover the whole ground, and he therefore here takes leave, with the simple expression of the hope that his efforts to enlighten the public mind in a most difficult department of literature may be properly appreciated, and his errors, if he has committed any, (of which he is not conscious,) may be regarded with charitable indulgence.

THE BIBLE AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.*

THE work, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, contains a series of five Lectures, delivered by the Rev. Dr. Mathews in the Capitol, at Washington city, during the winter of 1848. The Lectures were given, we believe, on the invitation of many distinguished members of both Houses of the American Congress, and were largely attended by the representative intelligence and wisdom of the nation. They attracted a large share of attention, and excited no little interest, at the time of their delivery. The desire was awakened in many minds to see them in print; and in compliance with numerous solicitations from distinguished sources, the learned and accomplished author has at length committed them to the press.

For ourselves, we are glad that he has done so. In the discussion of his general theme, "The Connection between the Holy Scriptures and the Science of Civil Government," Dr. Mathews has opened up fields of thought, argument, and illustration, hitherto but little trodden by American scholars; fields, with which even our best legal, juridical, and ecclesiastical minds are but little familiar. The subject is one of the deepest interest, and rich in lessons of practical wisdom, applicable to our times and to all times. Our author has treated it in a lucid, able, and scholarlike manner. He has brought to the composition of his discourses a mind well stored, a memory full fraught, a thorough comprehension of his subject, a just and discriminating taste, and a heart in full sympathy with the progress of liberal principles and institutions. He holds a warm, earnest, vigorous, and classical pen. While the thoughts which he has embodied in his work are weighty and solid, the style in which he has clothed them is pure, polished, nervous and animated.

In his Introductory Lecture, Dr. Mathews announces as the subject of his entire discus-

sion, *The Relation of the Bible to Civil Government*; and his great object is to inquire how far the Scriptures go in revealing the principles which enter into a just and wise construction of civil authority. Turning to the Law and the Testimony, he asks: "Is government, simply as government, all that we there find sanctioned as the ordinance of God? Do the Autocrat of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey, inheriting thrones which have been gained by violence and blood, hold their power by a tenure as Scriptural as that of the chief magistrates of these United States, who have been raised to their office by the choice of those whom they govern?" He thinks that the Bible answers these questions in a manner that must gratify every lover of human freedom and happiness. He thinks, and we certainly concur in the opinion, that, when nations had begun to multiply on the earth, the Most High revealed his will respecting the origin and tenure of authority in a State. When he delivered his people out of Egyptian bondage, he forgot not their welfare as a nation, while he guided their faith as a church. He formed the Hebrews into a true commonwealth, and gave them laws and institutions embracing all the essential features of national freedom, or of a well-ordered republic.

This religious aspect of the subject greatly enhances its claim upon our attention. How common an error it is, even in our day and country, to suppose that liberty was cradled in Greece, and that her sages were its fathers. This error is taught to our youth in the halls of learning, and proclaimed to our people from the halls of legislation. Our author holds a different doctrine. He believes that we must look beyond Athens or Sparta for the origin of a blessing so deeply interwoven with the welfare of man. He believes that it was not the wisdom of Greece, in the halls of the Acropolis, but

* *The Bible and Civil Government. In a Course of Lectures. By J. M. MATHEWS, D. D. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1850. 12mo, pp. 268.*

the wisdom of God, speaking from heaven, through his servant Moses, which first taught how the rights of a people should be asserted and sustained. We heartily subscribe to this view, and cordially tender our thanks to Dr. Mathews for the distinct and emphatic enunciation which he has made of it. We trust that his book will go far towards correcting a mistake alike dishonoring to revelation and discreditable to our intelligence as a nation. Liberty to the masses, political and social equality, general competence and contentment, physical comfort, ease of mind, repose and opportunity for reflection, moral and religious instruction to all men equally,—these were the paramount objects of the Hebrew Constitution, so far as its political relations were concerned. These features mark its kindred to our own, and set it widely apart and distinct from all other governments which existed with it and for many ages after it. Nothing can be wider of the truth than the idea, that it is in the political forms and usages of the Grecian and Roman commonwealths we are to seek the origin and elements of our own republican institutions. It is rather in that admirable frame of government, given by the oracle of Jehovah and established by the authority of the Supreme Ruler of the world, that we shall find the type and model of our own Constitution. Even the Declaration of American Independence,—that glorious charter of human freedom, which first sent forth its piercing tones from the State House in Philadelphia, and whose far-reaching reverberations have “troubled the thoughts” of many a tyrant, and caused “his knees to smite one against the other,”—the Declaration of Independence, we say, the pride of our own country, the terror of despots, and the animating pledge of liberty to the oppressed of every clime, was but an echo from the deep thunders of Mount Sinai.

The leading design of our author, in his whole treatise, is to demonstrate the divine origin of civil freedom. His Introductory Lecture is chiefly taken up with showing how fitly it corresponds with the uniform goodness of God, that He should give to the world a distinct revelation of his will on this subject. This point is treated very effectively. “The commandment,” says the Psalmist, that is, the divine revelation, “is exceeding broad.” There is, as Dr. Mathews truly observes, an expansive power

in the Bible, which reaches every want and condition in life. It not only states great principles in the simplest and most intelligible forms; but it also teaches how these principles may be applied to the various relations, domestic, social, and political, which God has ordained for the well-being of society.

Our author makes two points in his argument on the antecedent probability of a distinct revelation from heaven concerning civil society and government. The first is, the necessity of a well-adjusted civil constitution to men's domestic enjoyments; and the second, the influence of freedom on those higher faculties of man which reach beyond his social pleasures. The first of these points he illustrates by a graphic picture of the manifold oppressions, under which not the Israelites only, but all nations, were suffering at the time of the exode; the liberty, the happiness, and even the lives of the million being subject to the will of the one man who happened to wear the crown, and who, intoxicated with irresponsible power, ruled over men as over the beasts of the field. The inference is, that it well became Him, whose tender mercies are over all his works, to show how the government of a nation should be constituted so as most effectually to guard against such terrible evils.

In illustration of his second point, Dr. Mathews goes into an elaborate and most interesting historical survey of mankind, which fully vindicates and verifies the sentiment, that

“’Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume.”

Palestine, Greece, Rome, Carthage, Genoa, Venice, Holland, Switzerland, England, and the United States are each referred to, and dwelt upon, at less or greater length, in confirmation of this position. The result of his intelligent survey is, that “civilized democracy is the great moving power in human affairs; the source of the greatest efforts of human genius; the grand instrument of human advancement. Its grand characteristic is energy, awakening the dormant strength of millions, drawing forth the might that slumbers in the peasant's arm. The greatest achievements of genius, the noblest efforts of heroism, that have illustrated the history of the species, have arisen from the influence of this principle. Thence

the fight of Marathon, and the glories of Salamis; the genius of Greece, and the conquests of Rome; the heroism of Sempach, and the devotion of Harlaem; the paintings of Raphael, and the poetry of Tasso; the energy that covered with a velvet carpet the shores of the Alps, and the industry which bridled the stormy seas of the German ocean. Why are the shores of the Mediterranean the scene to which the pilgrim from every quarter of the globe journeys, to visit, at once, the cradle of civilization, the birth-place of arts, of arms, of philosophy, of poetry, and the scenes of their highest and most glorious achievements? Because freedom spread along its smiling shores; because the ruins of Athens and Sparta, of Rome and Carthage, of Tyre and Syracuse, lie on its margin; because civilization, advancing with the white sails which glittered on its blue expanse, pierced, as if impelled by central heat, through the dark and barbarous regions of the Celtic race who peopled its shores. Republican Rome colonized the world; republican Greece spread the light of civilization along the shores of the Mediterranean. But Imperial Rome could never maintain the number of its own provinces; and the Grecian Empire slumbered on with a declining population for eleven hundred years."

The conclusion which our author draws from his very able argument is, that, since freedom is thus interwoven with the happiness and progress of our race, it is highly probable that whatever is essential to its establishment should be revealed in a volume that "has the promise of the life that now is," as well as of "that which is to come." He who provides for the sparrows, and numbers even the hairs of our head, it can hardly be supposed would fail to instruct mankind as to the nature of institutions so deeply involving their personal, social, and civil well-being. After a high-wrought and glowing picture of the energy, prosperity, and growing greatness of our Republic, Dr. Mathews closes his Introductory Lecture with a solemn warning against the danger of a spirit of reckless presumption; against the danger of a spirit of pride and self-sufficiency; and against the danger of falling into forgetfulness of God, through the influence of a rapid course of prosperity and development.

The subject of the second Lecture is, "Civil Government as ordained in the Common-

wealth of the Hebrews." This subject our author discusses in his usual luminous and effective manner. He starts with the principle, which has passed into a maxim, that it is not so much men that make institutions, as institutions that make men. Nations do not rise from barbarism to civilization, without some external agency to act upon them above and beyond themselves. There is no inherent and natural tendency in a barbarous community to civilize itself, or in an uneducated community to educate itself. What, our author asks, was the condition of the world, when Moses arose as the inspired teacher and liberator of the Hebrews? It was a condition of the deepest ignorance, bondage, and wretchedness. Nowhere had the people any voice in the election of their rulers, but they who exercised dominion either acquired their power by the sword, or inherited it from their ancestors. In either case, it was wholly irresponsible and without limitation. The nations moaned beneath their tyranny, but it was the moan of despair. And what increased the gloom and horror of the picture was, that things were continually waxing worse and worse. The tendency was downward from age to age. By what process, and through what agency, was the current to be changed? How was this sore and universal evil to be remedied? Government is one of the most complicated and difficult of the sciences. With all the lights of experience embodied in history, nothing so tasks the powers of man, nothing so often baffles his wisdom, as the attempt to frame a constitution of government, which shall combine the restraints of law with the indulgences of liberty, the welfare of the community with the freedom of the individual.

If, then, amid the universal gloom and servitude, we see the Hebrews suddenly emerging from the darkness, and organizing themselves into a civil community, under laws that secured to them all the blessings of a true and well regulated political freedom and equality, the question arises—How came such a phenomenon to pass? Whence had this people this wisdom? "Was it from heaven, or of men?" The statesman, the historian, and the philosopher will unite in the answer, that the creation of such a political system was as far beyond the wisdom of that age, as the creation of a world was beyond its power. Nevertheless, turning to the Book of the Law, we find

the Hebrews in possession of just such a government; a government securing equally the rights of all, high and low, rich and poor, weak and strong; and embodying all the essential principles of civil freedom. We find here, according to our author,

First, "government by representation, the election of rulers by the ruled, the public officers chosen by the public voice." Of so much importance did the celebrated Chateaubriand regard this principle, that he classed it among "three or four discoveries that have created another universe." Dr. Mathews traces the origination of this great principle up to the inspired legislation of Moses. In this view, from an examination of the subject by no means narrow or slight, we fully coincide. The Reverend Doctor goes into an elaborate and conclusive argument, in which, however, our limits forbid us to follow him, to prove that the Jethroan judges or prefects were elected by the popular vote. He also contends that the twelve spies, the thirty-six men to survey and divide the land among the tribes, the Judges who succeeded Moses in the chief magistracy, and even the earlier kings, were chosen to their respective offices by the voice of the people, or of representatives acting in their name. The conclusion to which he comes, from his entire argument on this point, is, that "the government was, in every just sense, a government of the people. The magistrate was chosen by the suffrages of those among whom he was to act; and at the same time well-known integrity and competency were the only qualifications required for any station, from the lowest to the highest. Authority, whether ordinary or extraordinary, emanated from those on whose behalf it was to be employed. After what forms elections may have been conducted, how nearly or remotely resembling those adopted in modern elective governments, are inquiries of small moment. They do not affect the position, that the officer held his office from an acknowledged constituency, and that his constituents were those over whom and among whom his authority was exercised."

A second element of civil liberty, which, according to our author, was incorporated into the Hebrew Constitution, was that of "a Judiciary providing for the prompt and equal administration of justice between man and man." Courts of various grades were

established, from high courts of appeal down to those ordained for every town. Care was taken that, in suits and proceedings at law, every man should have what was just and equal, without going far to seek it, without waiting long to obtain it, and without paying an exorbitant price for it. Dr. Mathews refers to such jurists and scholars as Hale, Hooker, Blackstone, Jones, Goguet, Grotius, Michaelis, Ames, Marshall, Story, and Kent, as having expressed the opinion that "there is not a civilized nation, of either ancient or modern times, which has not borrowed from the laws of Moses whatever is most essential to the administration of justice between man and man, or between nation and nation. The rules of evidence in conducting trials, the principles upon which verdicts should be rendered both in civil and criminal cases, together with the great institution of trial by jury, are all found, in greater or less development, in the statutes and ordinances given by God to the Hebrews."

Another great principle referred to by our author as embraced in the polity of the Hebrew commonwealth, is that of a confederation between the several tribes composing the nation. This has been deemed by able statesmen as of great importance to the strength and stability of a republic, having either an extensive territory or a numerous population. The evils resulting from the want of such a federative bond are seen in the calamities of the Italian republics. The benefits flowing from the incorporation of this principle into a republican frame of government, appear in the history of the United Netherlands, and still more clearly in that of the United States of America. It was a principle fully embodied in the Hebrew Code. The Hebrew people, in their national capacity, might, with the strictest propriety, have been denominated The United States of Israel. There was a General Government, and there were State Governments, precisely as among us; and the lines of demarkation between the powers of each were well defined. The central government had its own appropriate sphere of action; and the provincial or state governments had theirs also, within which they were sovereign and independent.

Such, in the view of our author, were the fundamental principles of Hebrew liberty: viz., the election of the rulers by the ruled,

a judiciary wisely constructed for the speedy and safe administration of justice, and a union of the tribes under a confederation adapted to be a safeguard against usurpation from within, and to afford protection against invasion from without. And these principles were embodied in a written Constitution. This is an indispensable security to liberty. "No nation can expect to preserve its civil privileges, unless they are secured and perpetuated in a record, which both rulers and ruled can read, to which both can refer, and which is binding on both. Accordingly, it was enjoined on Joshua, and on others who succeeded him in authority, that they should observe to do according to all that was written in the Book of the Law. Had the enactments, promising liberty, protection, and justice to the people, been left to be handed down by oral tradition, they would soon have become changed, as the will of ambitious and designing rulers might have dictated. But here they were rendered stable and permanent in a code, which might be called the Magna Charta of the Hebrew State."

From his exposition of the Civil Government of the Hebrews, Dr. Mathews derives several highly important practical inferences. It would be interesting and instructive to accompany him through this part of the discussion, but want of space forbids. To one only of his valuable lessons can we for a moment direct the reader's attention. It is this: As civil liberty originated in revelation, by revelation alone can it be sustained. As there can be no divorce between light and the sun, so can there be none between freedom and the Bible. Burn the Bible, and liberty perishes with it. Just in proportion as it is known and revered in a nation, in the same proportion will a rational and regulated liberty, with its long and rich train of blessings, prevail in it. Everywhere and at all times, this divine book has been the efficient agency to build up, bless, and humanize society; to dignify and adorn social life; and to vindicate true liberty, while restraining licentiousness.

In his third Lecture, our author considers the "Influence of Emigration on National Character." This subject, itself a novel one, Dr. Mathews discusses in a most original, luminous, able, eloquent, and philosophical manner. There is no part of his book which, to our minds, has a higher interest

than this; none, certainly, marked by greater breadth and vigor of thought, or a warmer and more glowing style of composition. No analysis that could be made of this admirable paper would, or could, do anything like justice to it. There is not, as it seems to us, a thought or a word too much or too little. We will not attempt to sift out its better portions. Indeed, it is impossible to sift out the gold from a heap that contains nothing but gold.

"General and Sound Education indispensable to Civil Freedom," is the title of the fourth Lecture. In the opening of the preceding Lecture, our author had observed, that nations, like individuals, need time and training to prepare them for self-government. Old associations are to be broken up, and new ones formed. The popular mind must become familiar with new thoughts, new standards of right, new habits of action. Upon this principle the Divine Being proceeded in introducing free institutions among the Hebrews. The first means employed to this end was the removal of the people to a new country. This was treated at large in the third Lecture. Our author now proceeds, in his fourth discourse, to examine and illustrate another step in the work of preparation, viz., the provision made for the diffusion of knowledge throughout all classes of the people. He notices, under this head, the very remarkable fact, that there has hardly ever been another nation upon earth, in which the people were so universally taught to read. In proof of this, he refers to the frequent appeals made by our Saviour to the multitude: "Have ye not READ what Moses saith?" "Have ye not READ in the Scriptures?" and the like; and also to the statement made by the evangelical historian concerning the inscription placed by Pilate over the head of our crucified Lord, that "this title then READ many of the Jews." He infers the same thing, or rather he infers the duty of parents to teach their children to read, from the Mosaic statute, which enjoined it upon every head of a family to WRITE the laws on the posts of his house, and on his gates. He refers to the testimony of Jewish writers, who allege, that "the school was to be found in every district throughout the nation, and under the care of teachers who were honored alike for their character and their station." Nor was it left to parents, as our author thinks, to de-

cide whether their children should or should not be suitably educated. It was a duty which the law made obligatory upon them; and up to this point he believes, and so do we, that wise legislation should go in every commonwealth. There is nothing in such a requirement which ought to be regarded as unjust or unreasonable. "Apart from the benefit which such laws insure to the young themselves, every well-ordered State should feel that, as it values public safety, it must not permit its youth to grow up within its own bosom in a condition of ignorance, that would render them incendiaries and pests to all its best interests."

But schools for general education were not the only seminaries of learning known among the Hebrews. There were higher institutions, under the title of "Schools of the Prophets." These were institutions where not theology alone was taught, but other branches of knowledge also, which belonged to the learning of the times. These schools were under the care of men of the highest intellectual and moral worth. There was also a cardinal feature in the Hebrew polity in the highest degree favorable to the increase and diffusion of knowledge. The Levites were expressly set apart for the service of religion and letters. They were by birth obliged to devote themselves to the sciences. Many of them, especially in the reign of Solomon, reached a high elevation in learning; and their business was, not to lock up, but diffuse their stores. There was no monopoly of knowledge among the Hebrews. Intelligence was general in the degree and of the kind adapted to the people and the age.

Upon the whole, we are inclined to think, that in no part of the Mosaic polity did the wisdom of the lawgiver shine with a clearer lustre, than in his provisions for the instruction and training of the young. In full harmony with the spirit of his provisions is the beautiful prayer of David, that "our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace." These Mosaic provisions for the diffusion of knowledge, as the reverend lecturer justly takes notice, have been sanctioned by universal history, as inseparably interwoven with national prosperity. Our author goes into an able and instructive historical survey of the subject to justify this remark. We

cannot follow him through the highly interesting details of his argument, but we hope that many of our readers will do so with a pleasure equal to that which we experienced in the perusal.

The concluding Lecture of the series, on "Agriculture as an Auxiliary to Civil Freedom," is not inferior to any of its predecessors, either in the interest of the subject, or the ability with which it is treated. Ownership in the soil, observes our author, (we quote the substance, though not the *ipsissima verba*, of his remarks,) is essential to the best cultivation of it. On this principle the Hebrew agrarian law was founded. Small proprietors, and the land worked by the owners thereof, was the policy of the Hebrew laws. The tendency of the code was to make the people generally both owners and cultivators of land, and to give importance and honor to husbandry in the public estimation. The entire territory of the promised land was to be so divided among the six hundred thousand free citizens, who conquered and took possession of it, that each one should have a full property in an equal part of it. And this estate was to descend to his legal heirs by an indefeasible entail in perpetual succession. The fee simple of the soil could not be sold; nor could any alienation of a landed estate take place exceeding fifty years. This principle was fundamental to the Hebrew polity. It formed a broad line of demarkation between them and other nations, and was of the greatest importance in promoting both public and private prosperity. A man's property in his land could never be permanently alienated. It might cease to be his for a term of years; but the year of Jubilee restored it to him, free of all incumbrance. Nor indeed was it necessary for him to wait till the Jubilee to re-enter his alienated field, provided he or his nearest of kin had the means to redeem it; for the right of redemption remained always in the proprietor.

The necessary effect of such a system of laws in reference to land and landed property, was to make the Hebrews a nation of farmers. The cultivation of the earth was stimulated to the highest degree. The occupation of the husbandman was held to be the most honorable pursuit of man, and it became, as a natural consequence, the most common. The most illustrious citizens were farmers, taking that word in a broad

and comprehensive sense. Saul, David, Elisha, may be noted as examples; and of king Uzziah it is recorded, that "he loved husbandry." The effect of agricultural life upon the character and condition of the Hebrew people is known to every student of Hebrew history. "It produced among the people generally a bodily strength and activity, and a power of endurance, that tended to render them equally formidable in war, and successful in the labors of industry during times of peace. It made their whole country throughout like one continued garden,—the very rocks, we are told, being covered with mould to produce vegetation, and the hills being tilled to their highest summits. The land was thus enabled to support a population, that might otherwise seem incredible; and at the same time it furnished the means, not only for the active exchange of commodities, which was usual at their principal festivals, but for that extensive foreign commerce which, in the days of Solomon, so enriched the nation that 'gold was laid up as dust, and the gold of Ophir as the stones of the brooks.' Nor was it until a spirit of cupidity, pride, and luxury, generated by the gains of commerce, had brought into neglect the labors of the husbandman, that the strong arm of the nation was palsied, and she fell a prey to her invaders."

The agrarian laws of Moses were attended with several striking economical advantages, which our author proceeds to enumerate as follows:—

1. They stripped poverty of its worst evils. They soothed its bitterest sorrows with the hope of better days. They softened, if they did not remove, its keenest sense of degradation. They kept the poor man's heart whole. They preserved within him the love of home. They nourished a love of independence. Whatever else he had lost, his land was always there, and no human power could deprive him of the title to it.

2. They tended strongly to prevent the accumulation of debt with its attendant evils. Few would have any occasion to borrow, except as a measure of mere temporary relief under some sudden calamity, as the loss of a crop, or a murrain among the cattle. There was little inducement to lend, since no man might, by the laws of Moses, make profit out of a loan. And besides all

this, as an ultimate and complete relief from the pressure of otherwise irremediable and hopeless indebtedness, the Jubilee extinguished all debts.

3. The agrarian laws of Moses tended also to produce and cherish among the people a spirit of equality, and of sympathy one with another. Under their operation there could be, properly speaking, neither nobility nor peasantry, neither lords nor serfs, but a BROTHERHOOD of hardy yeomen, no one of whom could become either very rich or very poor, or could have anything in his external circumstances to excite either the envy or the contempt of the others.

4. Agriculture strengthens the sentiment of patriotism, the love of country. The heart of the husbandman is bound to the fields on which he bestows his labor, and which respond to his industry by clothing themselves in the beauties of spring and the riches of summer and autumn. The fact, if it be a fact, that his possessions have come down to him through a long line of honored ancestors, will greatly strengthen the attachment which he feels both to his home and to his country.

5. The healthful sobriety of mind which the scenes and occupations of country life are fitted to beget and cherish, is the last of the benefits enumerated by our author as flowing from agricultural pursuits. "The contemplation of scenes in which we 'look through nature up to nature's God,' always tends to impart a tone of moral health, and to form a solidity of character, which, especially in a nation enjoying the privilege of self-government, are all-important as a balance to the turbulent fervor often generated in our cities. It is in such an atmosphere that the mind is most unclouded, and can look beyond the things of a day. Nor should it be forgotten, that amidst such scenes and occupations every free nation has found many of her greatest patriots and statesmen."

Dr. Mathews closes his very agreeable and useful volume with some most judicious, seasonable, eloquent, and glowing reflections on the privileges, responsibilities, dangers, and destiny of our glorious Republic. It is impossible to condense such passages. We rather abstain from such an endeavor, as we hope that most of our readers will have had their interest so far awakened by the present article, or will so far confide in our critical

judgment, as to take our candid and earnest recommendation to possess themselves of a book, so solid in matter, so elevated in its moral tone, so vigorous and classical in its

style, so replete with the best learning, so genial in sentiment, and so warm in its sympathies with the progress of enlightened and conservative republicanism.

BRITISH POLICY HERE AND THERE: "FREE TRADE."

"For the falsity of speech rests on a far deeper falsity. False speech, as is inevitable when men long practise it, falsifies all things; the very thoughts, or fountains of speech and action, become false. Ere long, by the appointed curse of Heaven, a man's intellect ceases to be capable of distinguishing truth, when he permits himself to deal in speaking or acting what is false. Watch well the tongue, for out of it are the issues of Life!" (THOMAS CARLYLE ON Jesuitism, Latter-day Pamphlets, No. VIII.)

You may have remarked, good reader, that anything which an Englishman thinks particularly suited to his interests, and wishes you to believe particularly suited to yours, he generally calls "free"—and further, you may have remarked, that you are generally simple enough to believe him—that is, to take the term he gives you without having in your mind any fixed meaning whatever attached to it, and then to invent for it and apply to it a meaning of your own, which may be the meaning he originally had for it, or one very different from, if not directly opposed to his. He discovers the reality and invents a taking name for it; you take the name and assume an unreality as its meaning, and continue to practise the reality he originally falsified by name, and you have further falsified by *mis*-conception of his meaning and the act you do in consequence. This is not merely a dialectic sleight of hand—it becomes in course of time, and by continued misconception, a fact, part and parcel of yourself, part and parcel of your theory of right and wrong; even of your ideal of the universe,—you measure all things by it as a standard, and too often relinquish even your own palpable interests, smother even your most conscientious scruples, when this is thrust under your nose.

The science of so bamboozling men in the quietest and most enduring manner is known in dialectics as sophistry; in morals as Jesuitism; in government, commerce, trade, and all things pertaining to national or social existence, as "British Policy."

Sophistry and Jesuitism need from us here no examples—or, if they did, we have neither time nor occasion to give them. But the third division of this science of mendacity, which indeed includes and works in the two former, lies more immediately and more necessarily in our path. We shall illustrate it by a few examples, showing in the simplest manner we can the wondrous power attained by this deliberate abuse of words, by this science of downright and unequivocal lying; how it has grown up into a reality called the British Empire; how the people of the world contribute to its success, and among the contributors the American nation, with the riches of its soil and the marrow of its children.

Englishmen—(and here let us, once for all, remark, we use that term not invidiously to the English people, but to denote only those classes actuated by the Anglican spirit or policy, excepting therefrom the recusant Chartist and Republican, and all that vast mass of mere British animalism which is passive in the hands of its "legitimate superiors")—Englishmen, we say, tell you that their country is the "representative of *Liberalism*;" and hereupon Europeans generally, and not a few enlightened Americans,* attach to the managing persons in that country the idea of "liberalism." Now we shall add, in the hope that this essay may fall

* *Inter alia*, vide the opening passages of an otherwise exceedingly able and true article on "The Danish Question," in the September number of this Review

into the hands of some unlearned reader, that "liberalism" means, if indeed it mean anything, "freedom-ism"; and if "ism" mean anything, we are to understand by the above phrase that England is "the representative" of the love and worship of freedom, and the propagator of free principles among all men, and especially among all European men, and those in other continents of the world brought out of the night of barbarism into collision with her greatness. We are further to understand thereby, that she is, besides all that, *liberal*; not alone free in herself, and permitting just freedom to others, but giving to all, over and above their just demands, of her own resources and property with a free and generous hand. Such being the general belief carefully inculcated by herself, and assented to by even enlightened Americans, who can wonder if the people of un-common-schooled and un-newspapered nationality, of Sicily, Italy, Greece, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, and Schleswig-Holstein, look up to her for support, for advice, for encouragement in their rightful efforts, for protection in their unmerited reverses? Who can wonder if by that one word "liberalism" she has established throughout Europe, an influence in the hearts of the people, that is, in the very soul of the democratic vitality of the present and coming world, unattainable by any other nation, class, or government, by any other idea or reality; for hers is the only one which assumes the virtues of a saviour, possessing at the same time, in the superstitions of the unfortunate, the power of a god?

Yet in the range of dove-tailed falsehoods, which constitute the ideal of which the British empire is the embodiment, this of "liberalism" is the most brazen and the most humiliating. That it has proved a trap, and a fore-intentioned trap, to every people who have had the misfortune to fall into it, we need only refer to three recent events; the fall of Rome and Lombardy, the fate of Kossuth, and the betrayal of the Duchies. But in its very nature it is baseness. Worse than despotism a thousand times is this idea of "liberalism." It presumes a submission to known wrong by the people, in whose name it is promulgated, beyond all measure degrading. The Russian Czar boldly sways by the right of the strong hand, and the will of Heaven; acknowledges no liberty or rights in his subjects, but assumes openly that his

lawful mission is to "govern" them. Here is no hypocrisy—here is open, bold tyranny, but no sneaking. English governing powers, on the other hand, acknowledge liberty and rights in the people subject to them; but, having stolen the rights and the liberty, seized them some time or other by the strong hand if you will, they affect now to be "liberal," claim even the virtue of generosity in doling them, little by little, back to their right owners. Truly it is a fine thing to be liberal of one's own; but then to be liberal of what is other people's—that is not only to be a thief but a spendthrift thief; and to pretend liberality of that which is the property or right of others, when the intention of the holder is to keep all to himself, that is a double hypocrisy, so tortuous in mendacity that it is hard to get for it a name, unless we call it, lying in false pretence. Even to their own countrymen the English ruling classes give nothing they can avoid, and that only by way of purchasing worse servitude. Their "liberalism" to other nations consists in this, that they will take all they can, and give the donors their countenance, nothing more. Ah! we had forgotten, sometimes more—as to Greece "liberty" and an English tool for king—to Belgium ditto, ditto—to Portugal ditto, in return for the wine factories of Oporto—to Sicily ditto, for the sulphur mines of Ætna—and so on. "Liberal" people these English!

It seems childish to explain at such length that the English phrase "liberalism" is a profound and unmitigated falsehood. But on such falsehoods is a whole empire built and a whole world swayed. Everything is "free" in England—the press is "free" too—"free;" and here is another remarkable instance of the manner in which words are used in "Her Majesty's service." The American, for instance, is a free press; subject to no penalties except for crimes such as a man may commit without a press, as slander, libel on personal character, or the like. But in England a man with a press can commit crimes none other can. God in his mercy forgot to enumerate in the Sinai edition of the old code, "the crimes of the printer," not seeing, we presume, that, "to give the devil his due," the poor fellow could commit many more than therein enumerated. English law, however, has seen and supplied the deficiency. It invents new crimes under old names in this way: If a writer in its "free press" presumes to write

on a certain truth which is disagreeable, and which, by the laws which theretofore kept in terror that "free press," was perfectly admissible, and it is desirable to get rid of that truthful writer, English governing persons lay their heads together, and, having decreed that they are in danger, say, "Let us not interfere with the freedom of the press—oh! no; but let us *make* the writing of this truth, so dangerous to us, bigamy, or simony, or larceny; and degrade the writer with the punishment of a bigamist, simonist, or thief." And accordingly to write the truth "becomes" larceny, to obey God becomes an abomination in the eyes of men and the theory of the Constitution, by a stroke of "law"; and men are transported for it. And so of "freedom of trial by jury," that is, power to kill a man by freely packing a jury; and "freedom of election," where nobody has a vote; and all other English "freedoms"—stupendous Jesuitisms, hiding each under its sanctified face and fair free name, an astutely organized and deliberately infamous tyranny.

And yet stupid and trite as all these explanations seem, we are still given to attach the fact of freedom to everything new or old, to which the Englishman gives the name. He pretends to that which he has not; we give him the credit he so unscrupulously asks; and not only that, but further, we endeavor to put his "freedom" in immediate practice on ourselves, as he intended. Thus among the many "free" things by which the Government and richer classes of England bamboozle the world and gorge themselves, is that commercial heaven of supposed equality, presumed reciprocal justice, and imaginary eternal right, they call "free trade;" which, with the fervent hope that our readers will, from the examples of wordy abuse, Jesuitism, and British policy, we have already given them, be cautious in the use of phrases of British manufacture, and endeavor to attain for themselves the true meaning of the words they use, and to represent in just sounds their own real thoughts, we shall now proceed to explain.

To a man who measures greatness by the bale, even to one who has seen New-York, the lower portion of Liverpool presents a spectacle beyond all measure sublime. Warehouses piled up on warehouses, till their upper stories seem to overtop the highest

masts of the fleets before them; docks endless, walled round, in which, each with its appropriate location and number, lie the commercial navies of the world; wharves sinking with the load of raw produce, wheat, cotton, corn, leather, live-stock, dead-stock, not yet gorged into the warehouses, and of wares and merchandise, and "Christianity" not yet disgorged from them; pulleys running, ropes creaking, derricks swinging about; mates yelling to lusty seamen, seamen groaning at their lusty toil; majestic heavy horses dragging the contents of warehouses; burly drivers with lean legs and wooden brogues working along at a sling trot; Irish porters upheaving Atlantean bales; "emancipated and disenthralled" negroes struggling under the weight of burthens—it is a sight to gladden the soul of the bale-worshipper. Here are indeed collected the products of the world—unwrought iron from Sweden, wool from Ireland and Australia, silk and cotton from the Indies and the United States; wheat, flour, corn, maize, dead pigs and live pigs, everything eatable from an ox to a cabbage head, manufacturable from the raw produce fit for a nigger baby's cotton pocket-handkerchief, to the gold of Siberia or the Sacramento, the silver of a Mandarin's zone, or the gemmed eye of a Hindoo god, with which to form and grace the tiaras and the diadems of royalty—the edible gathered together from the States, from Poland, from Asia Minor, from Ireland; the manufacturable from China, Hindostan, Cashmere, Persia, North and South America, Africa, Oceanica, and the scattered islands of the main—wines from Xeres, Oporto, Champagne, and the Rhine, mayhap from Italy too, fine old Falernian, branded on every barrel with its "consule Planco"—spices from the Southern Seas, teas from China, opium from India, luxuries from everywhere—but nothing; not an ounce weight from England! No, not a particle of that universal produce of the world which is piled up into these warehouses, or disgorged from them, has been grown in England. The tea has come hitherward from the farthest East to get itself drunk; the wines have congregated from Europe, even from the little island of Madeira, all under the influence of "free trade," and of their own accord, to look after mouths in Britain; the food cereal and animal of the globe has gathered itself here to get itself worked into

human flesh and horse flesh, and goods, dry and soft, and hardware—the products of all earth have been coming into this port, to get something done with themselves.

Crossing the hills to Manchester, you see a city peopled by chimneys—hundreds of thousands of men and women and children toiling night and day the year round, wheels working, looms going: but here, too, not a particle of that upon which they work has been grown in England; not a particle of that on which they exist while working has been grown in England; and not a particle, we may say, of that upon which their labor is expended is to remain in England.

As we have written of Liverpool, so might we describe London, and every other port—as we have written of Manchester, so might we describe Yorkshire, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, and every other “manufacturing district.” They eat, and drink, and live on the produce of others.

But surely the soil of England produces something; limited as it is it gives some wealth. Well, behold it; magnificent demesnes, avenues long drawn out in exquisite perspective, gorgeous palaces scattered here and there through the woodland; fields, too, occasionally tilled, setting off the landscape, but by no means sufficient to raise food for one tenth or one hundredth of the population round the docks, or round the factories. And why should these fields be put to such a use? These pasture lands and tilled ground do not belong to the English people—they have been decreed to a different owner—for they belong to one of those governing classes who only are supposed to have rights and property, called the landed aristocracy, and the sacred use of this “sacred soil of Britain” is to raise *rent* for them.

Everywhere else there is an aristocracy of something. Railway scrip, bank stock, money, selling, transferring, and re-selling; all are managed by aristocrats, and found very productive. The worship of God there, too, is entirely managed by aristocrats, and found uncommonly productive, and very re-viving.

And throughout the throng, high over the din of cities, rising above the factory chimneys, above the warehouses, following you even by stealth into the distant fields, rises the cry of “Free trade.” Stop the fat merchant running to the custom or the counting house, and ask him what drives him—he roars at

you, “Free trade.” Stop any other man, merchant, manufacturer, banker, importer, exporter, or commission agent, and ask him the same, and he answers too, “Free trade.” It seems the salutatory prayer of a new religion, as *Pax vobiscum* was of the old.

Now suppose we stop the whole of them in their career, and wait till we find out what really to the Englishman this spontaneous shibboleth, or divine ovatory prayer of “Free trade,” means.

His country, you see, is a huge warehouse groaning beneath the weight of merchandise, made, finished, and needing nothing to be done with it except for somebody to take it away—with cotton spun into cloth, iron wrought into knives, sabres, and steam engines; into everything from a needle to an anchor; from a tin whistle to a Britannia tubal bridge; with fabrics, wares, and fabricated commodities of all kinds—but with no raw material with which to fabricate more, unless you or some other foreign nation bring it to him, and take away some of his surplus “goods” in exchange; no food to eat while he is fabricating more, unless you or some other foreign nation bring it to him, and take away likewise “goods.” In such a state he therefore, of course, offers every inducement to you to come in with *your* raw produce—every possible inducement to you to lighten his load of “goods,” and, by way of exchange, *feed him*. And therefore, by his cry of “Free trade,” one of his principal inducements to you, you are to understand this, and nothing else: “Come into my shop and buy—here are heaps of cloths I cannot eat; iron utensils in mountains I cannot drink, unless I were the Wizard of the North, who swallows carving knives and gets quite hilarious with the sparkling draught: but here I am, loaded with wealth which is useless to me; here am I, the Midas of civilization, immersed to the chin in a river of ‘wealth,’ the very water of which, when I stoop to drink of it, is ‘hardware,’ or cloth, or ‘fancy articles!’ Oh, I starve, I die! Bring in your corn, and take my cloth; your wines, and take my cutlery; your ‘eighteen-pound-ten,’ O simple youth of the Vicar of Wakefield, and take my ‘gross of spectacles with shagreen cases!’”

The Englishman’s notion of “free trade” is something more. “Bring me your cotton and your wool,” it means; “I have ‘hands’

up there at Manchester, thousands of them, who have no raw cotton, no raw wool to spin, and who cannot live save by spinning cotton, or, which is the same, whom I cannot afford to let live otherwise than by spinning cotton; and who, if I do not get cotton for them to spin, will either enter upon the land by force—sacred to the uses of growing rent—or eat *me*; and therefore, good gentlemen from South Carolina and Ohio, pity the sorrows of a poor old Englishman, and bring me your cotton and your wool, and something to eat meanwhile, and I will spin the former for you, and when I have kept my 'hands' going, and kept their clutches off the land, and off myself, and fed them, and paid myself, and provided for my large family—you can get back a little if you bring more produce to set me going a second time!"

The Englishman's "free trade" means, in fact and simple truth, that his trade is to make free with you whoever you are, and your productions whatever they may be, and live and enrich himself and keep his people from eating him, by transforming your wealth into something else which is therefore his; transforming Carolinian cotton and Ohio wheat into a compound known as "dry goods;" putting in a lady's pocket handkerchief and taking out a pair of live rabbits; and permitting you to admire the operation on paying the expenses—boiling, in fact, your pudding in his hat, and giving you a bit to show you he has done it; and so like any other necromancer or charlatan, he lives on the gullibility of the public by means of his "black art" of "free trade," and with loud-sounding noise and much elegance and luxury.

"But stay, Mr. Writer," says a worthy democrat and devotee of Anglican civilization near us; "Free trade means more than that. England, that great country which ever takes the first step in the path of human progress, and is the foremost in sacrificing itself at the altar of liberalism, has shown, by its late amended tariff, an example to the world of *true* 'free trade;' it has removed all taxes and impositions on the import of corn, and one of our Western growers can now bring his crop into the markets of England, with as little expense, excepting additional carriage and loss by the way, as into Boston or New-York—is not that 'free trade?'" Not a bit of it, Sir. You can transfer your money from your

pocket to mine with perfect ease—I will accept it, nay, I will thank you, as I want the money; but, if you are fool enough to make the transfer—is that free trade? The fact is, your corn and other produce needed by Englishmen, were not coming into their granaries fast enough; certain annoying villains about the shop door, called landed aristocrats, used to exact a tax off the customers to the great shop; and so the shop-owners turned out with their clerks and workmen, and drove the villains off,—and that is the whole story.

Such a great example of "true free trade" is no new thing in this country; only, stupid beings that we are, we do not know it when it happens. Mr. Barnum took the Castle Garden lately to exhibit Jenny Lind; he had seven thousand tickets to sell, and advertised them for sale by auction on the spot. The proprietors of the Garden having agreed to admit the audience to the performance, but not having agreed to admit the purchasers to the auction, levied a tax of a shilling on each individual, before they would give him permission to enter and leave his money behind him. It was clearly Mr. Barnum's interest to get rid of this tax on his customers; it kept out many, and made all who entered irascible. But the proprietors of the shop-ground wanted their rent, and took this means of getting it, by legal extortion on Mr. Barnum's customers and to Mr. Barnum's loss. Accordingly, that very wise gentleman exhibited himself to his customers, assured them in the blandest manner it was none of his fault—that it was his anxious desire to let in every one who wished to purchase, without charging them anything for the privilege of merely buying his goods—that he would, upon his honor, rather pay the tax out of his own pocket, and that he would pay it; and accordingly he *did* pay it, and bought off the landlords and cleared his shop door; and immediately sent out his bell-men in all directions to say that everybody who pleased could now come in and buy his tickets without hiring special leave to do so; and the more the better.

Now when Mr. Barnum did that, he exactly went through the manœuvre executed by the makers of the present English tariff; he "repealed his corn laws," to wit—took as noble a step in the progress of civilization, made as great a sacrifice to the principle of "free trade," as ever did the English; he

actually took an offensive duty off an article loved by all shopmen at any price, and known as "good customers;" got thereby more and better pleased customers into his shop, sold his superabundant ticket merchandise, took the money, and put it in his pocket for Mrs. Barnum; and by this plain essay in personal political economy, he is making a fortune. But in doing so, he, not being an Englishman, did not attempt to make it be believed he was making any sacrifice to his customers, or giving them any advantage of trade whatever; or that he was "free" or "liberal" in any way, except in taking their money. Nay, he did not, even *he*, the Jupiter Tonans of humbug, the American "nephelegerata Zeus," the puff-collecting, cheer-exciting Jove, did not, like the English, exclaim with sublime resignation that he "was sacrificing his personal interests at the altar of free trade—maintaining his avowed and recognized status as the representative of liberalism!" We would have roared at him, either for his bitter wit or his extravagant folly, if he did. But when the British shopmen, through the late Peel, the present Russell, or the ubiquitous Cobden, pretend to the same gorgeous virtues, and utter the same hypocritical exclamations, we believe them, we give them a hip-hurrah, and award them, for their downright lying, "immortality;" nay, we bring our wealth in loads to their shop, and actually go away with the belief we have been gainers, because they did not charge us extra for depriving us of it!*

* Mr. Carey, a name to which both the last and the present generations owe much, and to which future generations will owe infinitely more, has already investigated this subject with the acuteness of a profound analyst, and elucidated it in a singularly exact nomenclature. The present writer, not presuming to tread in the footsteps of a man who has made such gigantic strides into a science hitherto to most persons occult, and known even dimly but to few, but having, from personal observation, (brought home to him by stubborn facts and events productive of no ordinary economic crises,) acquired a matter-of-fact knowledge of much scientifically investigated by Mr. Carey, has ventured, in a plain and simple manner, to treat of a question involving the commerce of the world, and the fate for good or ill of American democracy. Not therefore desiring the rank of an economist, nor aiming in the least at a nomenclature singularly expressive to those who have studied it, incomprehensible to those who have not, he desires to be understood as endeavoring to simplify the comprehension of old truths, rather than to discover new ones, and writing not for the philosophic

The "great English movement in free trade," as far as corn goes, was therefore simply to admit more easily the customers most needed. Peter Funk in Broadway, selling gold watches, has men stationed outside to help his customers in, to all but drag them in: great "free trader," is Peter Funk! And so of cotton, and all other raw produce which the English people have not, and which they want to transform from other people's *produce* into their *manufacture*, upon which they wish to employ their hands and enrich themselves. Any man who comes with the wherewithal to enrich them, is subject to no tax,—why should he? Would it not be outrageous folly in a shopkeeper to run a bar across his own door to keep out his best customers, those upon whom he lives and thrives? Would not Mr. Barnum be worthy of exhibition in his own Museum, as the most insane man that ever had his senses, if, with his 7,000 tickets to sell, and no money in the house to pay his orchestra, or his rent, or his assistants, or keep up his Queen of Song, he closed and bolted his

world, but for the general American reader. Hitherto, unfortunately, the discussion of every economic question, however simple, has been approached by philosophic dissertations of profound depth, and conducted in a vocabulary perfectly frightful to the unsophisticated farmer or artisan, whose interests you are debating. The question as to who should eat A's dinner, whether A or B, and if B eat it, whether A would be the loser of the same; is made the aim of a battery of words and authorities it would take a Western wheat-grower or a Pittsburg puddler the term of his natural life to understand. The economist, himself endeavoring to evade pedantry, but habituated to the use of a phraseology which is to him as glib as a mother tongue, and which he cannot throw off, is in such a case in a position similar to Uncle Toby's, when he advanced redoubts, threw up bastions, sank mines, disposed lunettes, glaciers, and galleries, and arranged the paraphernalia of a tremendous war, to get at Widow Wadman's covered way. The aim of the present writer is to place plain truths in their plainest light; and if he can succeed in this he is content to abandon for ever all claim to the dignity of a philosopher.

The learned, or those who desire to learn the rationale of the economic views of which the present essay can only be taken to contain a few isolated examples, will find the entire subject discussed in a clear, logical, and profound manner by Mr. Carey in his "Past, Present, and Future;" a book to which the present writer wishes once for all to express his deep indebtedness. It has become the text book of a new school, and to speak further in its praise would be superfluous; and might be effrontery.

doors, and kept out everybody! And we, profoundly acute Americans that we are, cheer and huzza and laud the English, and all but worship their grand "liberalism," their unspeakable devotion to the interests of humanity, and their personal sacrifices to the progress of civilization, because they do not do, simply, *that*—close their doors, keep everybody out, and starve! Whether their "free trade" is free both ways, whether admitting into their market the sellers of that which they want, (and the greater competition in selling to them, the cheaper will they buy,) and admitting also the purchasers of that they have, and desire of all things to get rid of, (and the greater competition in buying from them, the dearer they can sell;) whether, admitting all these, their "free trade" admits also behind its counters other sellers of that which they have, other buyers of that which they have not, we shall presently inquire.

Meantime the question arises, Is not their trade, such as we have so far described it; presuming that they came honestly by their wares, presuming no compulsion on any to buy from them or sell to them—that is, presuming no thieving or organic stealing;—is not it a *fair trade*?

Certainly it is, undoubtedly it is,—*for them*,—perfectly fair. Every man, and every nation, has a perfect right to set up shop for the whole world if he or it likes, and barter his or its acquisitions, whatever they may be, for his or its wants, whatever they may be, and succeed if he or it can, or go to the devil if he or it pleases. But then it is right for a stranger, before becoming a customer in this world-wide shop, to consider whether it is for his interest that the shop should succeed—or go to the devil.

Let us suppose a great store, such as we have described England, filled with merchandise of all kinds; elegant cloths; fine cottons of the handsomest pattern; shoes ready made, and of all shapes and sizes; beautiful penknives; Britannia metal spectacles with shagreen cases; everything, in fact, saleable as manufactures; but no food—not even sufficient in the house for a dinner for the keeper of the store and his family—no money to pay rent, (which his landlord, cunning villain that he is, will not take out in spectacles and shagreen cases,) no money to pay his bishop, whom he keeps for

his own use, and whose feeling towards saleable optics is equally refractory; no money for several people of the same kind. Over the shop door is the name, "Mr. Johann Bool;" "Civilization" and "Human Progress" glare at you in big letters from his window; "Free Trade" hangs on flags from the house-top, and is roared by a lean, sunk-eyed, big-boned Irish bellman, and an emaciated, yellow Hindoo, with a tatterdemalion caftan and a broken gong, at the door. The same sounds are screamingly re-echoed by a family of ragged, wretched looking creatures, at one corner, supposed to belong to the bellman; and at the other corner by a family equally wretched, but yellower and more lifeless-looking, in "dress" equally ragged, but more tawdry, supposed to belong to the gong-beater. In the door stands Mr. Johann Bool himself; red-faced; portly-bellied; rubbing alternately the back of either hand with the palm of the other; and displaying a look which, to the malignant, might seem of fat contentment, but was evidently intended to be that of a quiet resignation in a good cause which costs him nothing. In that store he has everything but his dinner and customers, and he, poor man! is looking out for both.

Opposite to him is the quiet cottage of a worthy cobbler, who, besides knowing his trade, has a small garden producing cabbages and stuff sufficient for his family. He can make shoes if he likes, and has made great numbers of pairs of shoes for the villagers, before Mr. Johann Bool took the store opposite; but now, getting lazy, he determines not; and needing a pair of shoes for his own feet, he takes a different way of coming at them besides making them; and bringing several baskets full of his best cabbages, carrots, &c., to the store over the way, where everything is so cheap, where there is such shouting about "fair play" and "free trade," he there barter so much of the home-grown food of his family, for a wretched pair of shoes; and then, returning home to his wife and children, he seats him down on his nether end, and keeps admiring the shoes one while, and digging garden stuff with them for another while, till they are fairly worn. His wife wants shoes too, and his family generally want shoes, and he, being still lazy, and with a high, chivalrous, "democratic" feeling against in-door employment, repeats the same operation of transfer of stock in

cabbages and garden stuff to the polite and agreeable Johann, who has all the while assured him there is nothing like "free trade;" bringing home, ever and always, ready-made shoes for his wife and children, which they keep admiring too, they were so cheap, and bought from so civil and respectable a man; until winter comes on, and neither shoes nor cabbages are left.

Now let us tot up the profit and loss between the "free-traders." The garden-owning shoemaker has eaten up both shoes and vegetables, and has nothing left, and is nothing the richer. Mr. Johann Bool has had excellent dinners and fresh vegetables every day, and has any quantity of shoes ready for sale still on hand; and the Irish bellman and Hindoo gong-beater, and their emaciated families at the corners, paid with vegetable offal from his house, roar away "free trade" as loudly as ever. He has got so far rich—the cabbage-growing shoemaker has got so far poor; the latter has no resource left to keep out of the pit of nakedness and starvation, but to take to making shoes "at last," or growing more cabbages for himself and Johann.

"What a fool! what an ass!" you exclaim. Not at all, my dear friend. Do not be in such a tremendously passionate hurry; let us say, What an American!

But no; we have imagined the garden of the shoemaker too finite. Let us imagine it as large as you please, his wealth out of it is limited to the area which he tills, and his power of culture in cabbages may be as infinite as you please. Whence the difference? Is a man who has played the fool, none the less a fool, because he has money laid by, on which he can afford longer to play the fool? Can a man who is rich never be robbed? And if robbed at all, what difference, in theory, makes the amount? The argument as to a cobbler's cabbage-head is equally good or bad for a continent's corn. Grant the cobbler's produce illimitable, and his idleness constant, he must overdraw his bank in cabbages at last. He has had other things to get besides shoes, clothes of wool, of cotton and flax, and fabrics more costly; necessities and luxuries, as many as may suit the requirements in the argument. Suppose, by exchanging his "raw produce," he is able to procure everything he needs from the universal store of Mr. Johann Bool, that

is, if Mr. Bool pleases to take the surplus cabbages; well then, he has everything he needs for the present, and must take to making shoes or growing more cabbages to live on in future. It comes to the same thing. Nay, even supposing, if you like, that he has *surplus* cabbages after all, that makes no difference to any but the wise Johann. His actual wants satisfied, the *surplus* cabbages may rot, and hence the cabbage-growing shoemaker hurries in with his cabbages, giving more and more of them to Mr. Johann, at any value; better sell them at a loss than have them rotting. And thus, the greater the production in cabbages of the shoemaker's garden, the greater are Mr. Bool's gains—the cheaper he purchases vegetables for self and family. It is Johann's interest that the shoemaker should raise the *larger* crop, and the shoemaker, having but one market for his produce, Johann's, finding that he can do no more than raise a yearly crop, to be yearly lost or eaten, or exchanged with Johann, neglects all his fine old notions of good farming, wanders over his farm, tilling the land easiest tilled, growing here carrots for Johann, here cabbages for Johann, here onions and asparagus for Johann, measuring his labor and his toil by Johann's palate and Johann's shop. Johann has in soul entered his farm, and effectively taken possession thereof, chalking out what plots shall be tilled, what not—how much must of necessity be tilled for *his* wants—how much may or may not. Johann, with his bellman and gong-driver and starving families, having first seduced the shoemaker from his work, now rules him absolutely, body and soul; rules him and his!

"What an unfortunate and distressed tradesman! what a truly miserable and degraded idiot to leave off his natural toil, and take to growing stuff for Johann, is this unhappy cabbage-growing shoemaker," you exclaim.

Be civil in your terms, Sir; the shoemaker, I would have you to know, is a free citizen, on his own free land—a good "democrat" too, rearing of his own free will what cabbages he pleases, selling them to whom he pleases, digging with Johann's shoes or without Johann's shoes for whom he pleases, and to please himself.

"A democrat! the idiot," you answer; "why, he feeds, keeps up, and works for a vile aristocrat in Johann; and willingly subjects

himself to a servitude as perfect by 'economy' as ever any has been by arms, or law. Democrat! the idiot,—I had as soon walk round and round in a mill, with a blind over my eyes, a turning of a crank, and imagine myself a free citizen, and not, truly, a horse."

"Sir," hiding our wrath, we patiently answer, "you must be mistaken; the worthy shoemaker we have described is really and truly a 'democrat,' of the most approved character, and, like the advertising housemaids, with any amount of the most unexceptionable city references. You must be cautious in your phrases; he is an American, and pursues this course in obedience to the known laws of 'free trade,' (British currency.)"

We shall reserve for the present the reply of our intermittent communicator: it seemed something like "Free trade be damned!" and a perfect avalanche of blasphemies.

But what seems most to astonish our intermittent communicator is, that our worthy friend the shoemaker should for so long submit to this cabbage-growing "theory of life," without an attempt some time or other to relieve himself from it, either by fighting Johann, or taking to his handicraft again of making shoes. Either is quite possible—as even a perversely idle shoemaker has his hands and strong sympathies in the world; but as to fighting Johann, that is mere madness. What *could* the garden-growing shoemaker gain by even whipping Johann? Leave to make shoes! that he has already, fight or not fight; and then by fighting Johann, so admirable a system for insuring "peace" is this "free trade," he loses, *primo*, a market for his cabbages; *secundo*, he incurs vast expense and loses still more cabbages by the fortune of war and by rotting; *tertio*, he stands in need of shoes and cannot supply the want; *quarto*, if he fail in conquering Johann, he may be compelled to pay more cabbages for the "expenses of the war," and incur other punishment for his rashness; and, if he gain the victory, all he can do with it is, to begin again at his old trade of making shoes for self and family, which he might never have left off unless he pleased, and which he might have resumed at any time without fighting. So that, provided Johann has food enough stored up, or can get the loan of it anywhere else, the state of war between Johann

and the cabbage-growing shoemaker is just this—by a war the shoemaker loses his market, wants shoes, incurs vast expense in cabbages, with the hope of gaining nothing and losing all,—Johann in the event of victory gains anything he wants; of defeat, loses nothing.

To such a deep perdition does the economy of Johann's "free trade" reduce his victims. And accordingly the worthy shoemaker, being a good "democrat," and given to lip bravado a little, makes the best of a bad bargain, says he is all for peace with Johann, that anything else "will not do," and continues a victim, "not allowing any one to interfere in his concerns," and "having every right to do what he likes with his own!" At the same time that, if a neighbor has a back garden, which just lies into our worthy cobbler's, he pitches into him directly, and flogs him till he roars again, while Johann, with some protestations as to the injured man's harmlessness and rights—Johann having had an eye on these same rights and the garden himself—does not, however, very strenuously interfere, knowing, if he did, he must lose one trade for a little; and if he do not—the arable garden of the shoemaker is increased for him!

"Good God, Sir—you speak of the great Mexican war!" breaks in our intermittent friend—"surely, surely, the nation who conquered there are not so slavish to a superior power as to be its hewers of wood and its drawers of water, boasting and persistently; and at the same time so merciless to a poor inferior."

You will forgive us, Sir, we are compelled to answer; your temper exceeds discretion. We are, you will recollect, in America, and speaking of trade.

By his trade, then, the worthy shoemaker may fitfully attempt to renew his fortunes; for, as we have said, he is not alone in the world; and, before Mr. Johann Bool established his store, the worthy man used to make shoes for all the villagers. But his trade exists no longer. He might as well never have been a tradesman, never have practised his trade in that village, for all he can do with it now. Once he entered Mr. Johann's store, he left his trade behind him at the threshold. He ceased to be an independent workman from that hour, and became, will he, nill he, a cabbage-grower for ever. The wheel-wright, the carpenter, the

smith, the loom-weaver, the corn-grower, and the rest of his neighbors to whom he formerly supplied, or might have supplied shoes, in return for their produce or their handicraft, have followed him to the store of Mr. Johann for their shoes, too; have indeed been compelled to go there, since the worthy cobbler would make shoes for no one, not even himself; and once they entered his shop, Mr. Johann has found inducements for them to return. His shoes on sale are done up to suit the eye, are cheaper too, can be brought down to any price. Then there is so much cry of "Free trade," and so much willingness to suit a customer, the villagers too have followed the bent of the lord of the unused awl and productive cabbage garden. Mr. Johann has established with them many complicated relations in buying and selling, and they cannot leave off to suit the wants or fantasies of the regretful cobbler. Johann has sold pots and pans, and iron works of all kinds to this man and that, and ruined the trade of the village smith; furniture and boxes to t'other man, and ruined the trade of the village carpenter; he has shoved out everybody, and walked into everybody. All the shoemaker's neighbors have sunk to his level and become produce growers, tributaries to Mr. Johann, holding their farms for his use, selecting the spots of ground most suitable to his market, the crops most delectable to his palate, the quantities most nearly calculated to fill the variable vacua of his maw. The whole village for miles about has become tributary to him: he clothes everybody with such covering as he can afford to give them; decks them in cottons, or tawdry ribbons, or dull comatose velvets, as he pleases. From having originally been in need of actual food and of a single customer, he has now become lord and manager of all. Every man, laying aside his trade, now struggles for the privilege of supplying Johann. Instead of suing for customers, he now threatens to punish the refractory by *not living on him*, by allowing his produce to rot, and leaving him naked of shoes and clothes. He plays off the avarice of one man, against the independent feeling, or the regretful industry of another. The once happy village becomes an assemblage of warring, but independent, serfs; and should any attempt be made to unite, Johann threatens the whole with "disunion!" The little houses, once so full of thrift, have

become dirty, tawdry, and disorderly—the farms half tilled, and that half badly—everybody does as he pleases, without caring for anybody else; and Johann and "Free Trade" have become lords of all. He is alone rich and independent—all else is poor and slavish.

Now imagine—we must beg pardon of our intermittent colloquist for stopping his mouth yet a little—now imagine the shoemaker and his friends, by laziness or other cause interfering, to be hindered from carrying with their own hands their produce to Johann's store, or their purchases back. The worthy cobbler, for instance, employs a boy of Johann's to bring to the store his cabbages, and back the shoes, and pays the boy for each journey a cabbage-head. There is established "commerce"—and commerce, as the little boy's trade of go-between, between the lazy shoemaker and Johann, is called—being one of the great and most interesting desiderata of the age and of civilization—advances with a stupendous rapidity. Everybody employs the little urchin go-between—he is eternally running hither and thither for his cabbage-head per journey or other fee; and it seems really so entertaining and delightful to enrich him, that the inhabitants of the village, taking their start note from Mr. Johann, seem to think that everything is much bettered and "ameliorated" by being carried to and fro *via* the errand-boy; that nothing is good without being carried to and fro *via* the pot-boy, and the little pot-boy paid for the carriage—that in fact the great object of their society and life, is to provide matters for the little boy to carry here and there, *via* the store of Johann; to keep him eternally going, *via* Bool's door. Johann, in euphonic accents, has assured the villagers that supporting and enriching his pot-boy is "the advancement of commerce," sometimes he adds of "enlightened commerce," (as if there can be much enlightenment in paying a little boy to carry onions and cabbages to a grocer's,) and the villagers believe him: he assures them further, that this "enlightened commerce," or method of supporting his pot-boy, and of course further enriching himself, is a part also of the "civilization" and "free trade," printed in his windows and roared by the bellman and the gong-driver; and they, very properly in this instance, believe him too—for they are now satisfied that this "civiliza-

tion" and "free trade," with the addition of "enlightened commerce," must really be a very valuable set of articles, though they cannot exactly comprehend why—inasmuch as the last has made the cabbage-heads, and all other produce disappear twice as fast as before. So very good and blessed are they, that they have ruined the whole village!

Now let the street before Mr. Johann's house become a wide ocean; let the pot-boy become legions of pot-boys, go-betweens and captains and crews of go-betweens, endless and innumerable, with carts and carters, wagons on road and rail, with ships of steam-power and sail, less capable of being numbered than the bright atoms floating in the azure main of night—and then the unfortunate shoemaker, the miserable village, with its people, and its industry, and its produce dependent on the will of a foreign huxter, and of the "free trade" machinations of a restless pot-boy; growing food not for the mouths of its own children, but the palate or the greed of a distant trader; waiting before it can clothe itself with a rag on the winds and waves, on the inconstant heaven and the vagaries of a go-between; absolutely servile and patient; not daring to make even for itself one cloth, still less daring to wage an useless war on the vampire in whose fangs its heart-blood is squeezed out on the world; divided and at war with itself for the privilege of pandering to the markets of a hated superior, becomes—

We fear to proceed—our intermittent communicator stands aghast and speechless. His head sinks low upon his chest, and he utters in a long, deep, groaning wail of woe, "America, my country!"

* * * * *

Of a truth we have not been luxuriating in a fable. The cobbler and his neighbors are not "allegories on the banks of the Nile," but melancholy realities on the banks of the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, and the Mississippi. Nay, we have barely touched upon the worst features of the reality. In a land new as this, whose virgin soil has hardly yet had time, anywhere, to lose its luxuriant freshness, and the vigor of a long and peaceful adolescence beneath the protecting umbrage of the fertilizing forest; whose entire population are not too numerous to be supported in plenty, and even splendor, upon the well-directed wealth of its smallest State—in a land where coal and

iron illimitably abound, wherein every raw produce fit for manufacture is spontaneous or capable of easy naturalization; wherein every species of human food bursts in teeming plenty from the earth, every luxurious fruit of every zone grows wild,—in such a land is it not a strange and unnatural paradox, consequent on some extreme national folly, or perverse ill deed of men, that there the wages of the laborer should be often below the standard of old and worn-out empires, and seldom above it; taken even correlatively with the abundance of sustenance, not for him—that there, too, the laborer should be found wandering on the streets and highways, without food and without shelter, a beggar and an outcast? Is it not strange that in this land, started in its career of empire upon a basis of equality, upon whose fields there is no embargo of feudality, upon whose rivers no superior right of water-way forbidding the presence of a mill-wheel—is it not strange, we say, that after some sixty years of rational freedom to do or be idle, half its population should now be found landless, without a spot of earth to call their own, and yet that they and the whole population should be indebted for its clothing and its luxuries to a foreigner? Is it not strange that on this water-way and that, you find a mill in ruins, or a factory tenantless and silent, while even the richest soils of her oldest States have been abandoned for the distant fields of prairies, or the mountain slope? Ask, Why are these things? There can be but one answer, "Free trade" and England. Daily and hourly the hand of England drives men back from the soil of New York and the elder States, to the forests of the West; blows the roofs off factories; smothers the new-lit furnace; banishes, dissipates, coerces, as firmly, surely, and nakedly as if it acted through red-coats and police. Even with our boundless wealth, thus have mendicancy, want, prostitution, thieving, overtaken us. Young as we are, we suffer all the ills of an obese and spendthrift monarchy. Our hells vie with Parisian; our "distressed needle-women" are as numerous and as wretched as those of London, and our instances of infanticide, before and after birth, are, taken in connection with our illimitable resources, and our limited population, almost as numerous as those of the Chinese, or the votaries of the Egyptian Saturn. Why are these things—why is it that our laborers are

sinking to the level of those of Europe? Because "free trade" with England has made us tributary to her—because our labor is not motive save to her will—because, with all our "liberty," WE ARE NOT INDEPENDENT. You may dig out the boulders of gold from about the heart of old mother Terra—it matters not—while "free trade" (British currency) continues; while this country is but a sieve to England; while wealth is to pass by the face of the laborer and the unfortunate here, to feed laborers in a distant land; while the plentiful year brings no food to our workman, while the riches of the rich bring no labor to him, you may become an inordinately wealth-producing nation, but are in reality but the richer *province* of another. That other drags away your food and scatters it upon the wide ocean; piles it in its granaries and manures with it its fields—but you, less grateful than the senseless tree which gives back to the soil that nourishes it, nutriment in return, give to your soil *no* return, no sign to God or man that you are grateful for the fulness of the land, or that you desire to reproduce its abundance. What then can you expect, but that as the absentee mouths cry for more, more should be given them—that according to a foreign will, not yours, a foreign law, a foreign appetite, not yours, your country should be regulated, tilled and labored? What can you expect but a nomadic sociality, a vagabond, and sort of Bedouin existence; that to suit the markets of a foreigner, or in obedience to his intention, mills should be dashed into ruins, factories made roofless; that rich lands should be made tenantless, and the assiduous tiller driven ever and ever farther back into the newer and cheaper prairie? Then come of necessity, into the deserted hamlets, infamy, penury, and crime, as surely as the beasts and unclean birds of the desert find their best homes amid the ruined cities of men; then of necessity come idle labor, "unfortunate females," "distressed needle-women," infanticide, hells, and that social perdition which yawns under the thrones and the castles of England. Growers of food for export you may become to any extent, producers of gold, realizers of Golconda dreams for others, but rich you can never be, nor happy, nor fixed; builders of mighty cities, owners of vast domains, to perish utterly, leaving not a trace, like that race which in some anterior age preceded

you in the passing occupancy of this continent, and left in the silent cities of Central America but the awe-inspiring mementoes of its death. That nation must utterly perish from the face of the earth which uses its freedom to make itself a beggar, and expends its wealth in building itself a tomb.

The incipient drunkard laughs at the notion of reform. He tells you drink does *him* no harm—that he never felt it hurt *his* constitution—that when he does feel it hurtful he will "pull up." You turn away in pity or contempt; knowing well that when it shall come to that pass with him, when his constitution shall have fairly given out and become bankrupt, when he shall have felt his vice hurtful, that then, if he wait to that, he is a lost and a doomed man. While his natural energies endure against an unnatural practice, he feels no hurt, and has a recuperative power; but when before repeated draughts the energies have fallen, there has fallen with them, too, all power of recovery. He has become for life a sot—the iron will has sunk to the effeminacy and the maudlin tears of a child, and the man, timid and silent, passes away like a shadow from the earth, regretful that he ever existed, and cursing even the freedom and the advantages which he so criminally abused to his ruin. So of the spendthrift, who flings away money because he can afford it, who keeps no count because he has a treasure at his banker's. He finds there is a limit to that too, when he has squandered it, and left himself a beggar, even as the cobbler found a limit to his cabbages. The sot and the prodigal we pity or we despise. For these individuals we have sympathies or disgust to overflowing. We make them household lessons for our children, introduce them in tragedy and melodrama for the terror of the young, and the improvement even of the old; nay, we pay Barnum day after day for exhibiting one of them to "the working classes."

But we are blind to similar vices and follies in thirty millions, when these millions are ourselves. Day after day, and hour after hour, we hear it said, laughingly, "The Republic will last our day;" "we can afford this English free trade;" "it never has hurt our constitution;" "when it shall hurt us we will pull up." Wherein do ye differ from the sot and the prodigal? Is the vice the less, because, to practise it, you have

not one mouth and one pair of hands only, but thirty millions of mouths and thirty millions of pairs of hands? Is your prodigality less wrong than the spendthrift's, because he flings away but a thousand or two, you a hundred millions? Depend upon it, your millions too have a limit. Not a grain of corn, not a blossom of cotton can you afford to lose. It was given to you in exuberant plenty not to be cast away, but beneficently administered; not to support old tyrannies, but to reproduce new freedom; not to help to enslave an old continent, and make a desert of a new one, but to liberate the old, and eternalize the Heaven-sent freedom of the new.

But our intermittent friend will have it that America is a great—the greatest country; that in the first seventy years of her freedom she has risen from a neglected colony to the rank A 1 in nations. Be it so. During that time too the wheelbarrow and old go-cart have grown in magnitude and power to the dimensions and force of a locomotive, with its train of carriages steaming along from twenty to fifty miles an hour. Small thanks to the old wheelbarrow, or the go-cart! During that time the lazy old lubberly merchantman, which took three months to cross the Atlantic, has grown into leviathan steamships, twisting and dashing through the waters like things of monstrous life, at any velocity they please. Small thanks to the old merchant hulk or its owners! During that time too, the little boy, who used to be paid an obolus for running with messages from village end to village end, has become seated in his office, as an operator of the telegraph, speeding his messages from pole to pole, from zenith to nadir, fleetier than God can make the world turn. And though the little go-boy may become very proud, and consider himself a great fellow on his new stool, who thanks him for the change? Is his new position anything but the effect of a superior power, discovering and fashioning the telegraph, and raising him like a puppet to his stool? During the same seventy years, the ancient boor, whose engineering art in manufactures consisted of throwing a shuttle from hand to hand, or sitting beside a water sluice, watching the water running into a mill-wheel, now letting it on, now turning it off, by slipping up and down a board, has become the director of a

huge machinery, with boilers, cylinders, pistons, cranks, and endless wheels, rolling out at a single stroke the work of a thousand looms, or crushing into the dust, fit for food, the produce of a thousand granaries. And who considers thanks for that due to the poor boor? During the same time, Caxton's hand-press has increased in size, and strength, and accuracy, and has changed its name to "Hoe's double-cylinder patent steam printing press and folding machine." And who fancies that the germ of growth lay in the old hand-press, or that the manipulation of the old printer, who owned it, produced Hoe's machinery? During that time, too, feudalism has been uprooted in central Europe; new ideas have been born to the world, new hopes and new impulses to men. Who gives to Madame Dubarry, or Louis the Well-beloved, or the *parc aux cerfs*, the honor of causing or originating these things? During these seventy years the whole world has moved more than it ever did in a thousand years before; and in that grand era of advancing manhood, the American nation, leaping into its new-won liberty; with its hand newly loosed from bonds, with its young heart bursting for action, with resources yet untouched, and unprecedented formagnificence; has "doubled its population every twenty years," and grown more food than any other nation under the sun, and wasted it every atom. During that time it has begotten mouths for itself to an inconceivable extent. It has raised food for the whole world, made its country a stock farm for every old and lazy empire, made its luckiest children the stewards of a foreigner, and the wearers of a foreign livery, and driven the rest back, and ever back, to the wilderness, "to extend the area of freedom," and become thereon the stewards of the foreigner's stock farm aforesaid. But, from the hour of its freedom to this, it has not increased its nationality by a tittle, not solidified its national life by an atom, not attempted by any means to eradicate the provincial habitudes remaining even after the acquisition of liberty, but has, increasing in its growth and power of national manhood, increased, too, in the habitudes of its former provincial servilities. Before the war of independence, the Virginian converted his tobacco into clothing, by freighting it in a ship and dispatching it round from his right hand to his left, *via* Liverpool. The New-Yorker or

New-Englander converted his corn into clothing, by the same process, *via* Liverpool. The South Carolinian changed his raw cotton into cotton wove, by the same transmarine alchemy, *via* Liverpool. To this hour, when a Western man wishes to give his Virginian or Carolinian brother corn for tobacco or cotton, he has, too, to send it off *via* Liverpool, and there exchange. Boston, New-York and New-Orleans are but the dépôts of Liverpool. What need, then, is there for the English to use against the American nation the force or the naked perfidy it uses against Ireland and India? What need to subject it to the bright steel, or bring against it the boom of the noble cannon? To a nation which uses its "freedom" to enslave itself, why should not every "freedom" be accorded? To a nation which swallows the cant of "free trade," and, instant, rushes to its ruin, what need to say more than "free trade?" May not an Englishman truly say, it is mad policy for him to use us as a rival, when we are the blindest, and patientest, and most extravagant of his supporters.* In the years of the War of

Independence, and of 1812, when England did treat this nation as a rival, no American food was grown for British mouths. No American, unless he were a smuggler, dishonored his back by wearing a British livery, because he could not. In those years, the balance of trade between the nations lay thus: the British side, debtor, a sound whipping; the American side, credit, victory. And manufactures at home grew and flourished with the national glory and the national prowess. Now, in this peaceful year of 1850, we shall have given the British nation a hundred million dollars' worth of food and raw produce. We shall have received from it, *primo*, rags; *secundo*, mendicancy; *tertio*, the position of the worthy shoemaker towards Mr. Johann Bool. Freedom, national growth, and splendor, and that wondrous and blind exaltation of our own prowess we have, have made in seventy years out of the valiant combating colony, which, in the days of plain-spoken and justice-loving, upright men, fought to the death against this commercial superiority of England, this vile system of "economic" plunder, have made out of such a colony a hundred million of times a more productive province to its former masters. And thus for seventy years we have been living—building ships, reclaiming prairie, tilling the soil of America, to bring to England seventy hundred millions, more or less, of the marrow of her soil, and the sweat of her children; to take back in return rags to the unfortunate growers, cotton kerchiefs and gowns, sixteen-bladed pen-knives, and seventy hundred millions, if you will, real plated iron spectacles and bran-new shagreen cases.

Before closing this section of the subject it may be well to see what other nations without any of our advantages, and with innumerable disadvantages of their own, have done from time to time in the first periods of their liberty.

For a hundred years the little country of the Netherlands, a mere cast-off swamp of

* See (if any one with eyes, and his optic nerves all right, cannot see the fact otherwise) an article in a late "London Morning Herald" extracted into the October number of "Hunt's Merchant's Magazine," and entitled "The United States, England's Best Customer,"—Mr. Johann Bool and the poor shoemaker, to wit! The "Morning Herald" is the stupidest London newspaper we wot of; and yet it sees it. Its facts are never new, its statistics seldom right, and its parody on Anglo-Saxon occasionally readable; and yet in the article referred to, these very plain sentences occur:—

"The Americans are, therefore, our best foreign customers, individually, if we may so speak, [you have our full permission, old Croaker;] but they are, also, by far our best customers regarding them as a nation. * * *." [Here follow statistics, showing by how many millions the Americans have really, in 1848, proved themselves fools; the accuracy of which the ghost of poor Sheridan, who studied "compound division" to enable him to overthrow Pitt when Chancellor of the Exchequer, may determine;—we need not just now, for the article concludes in this fashion:] * * * *

"Taking the amount of their [to wit, the American] consumption of 1841, [to wit, the small scale of American folly ten years ago, before the tariff of '46 by five years, and before the coming of Sir Henry Bulwer, British politician and saviour of our iron trade, by many more,] namely, £9,500,000, we still find the States consuming less than a quarter of our exports, while we consume more than two thirds of the whole of theirs in the same year, amounting to more than £27,000,000 sterling; to wit, \$134,000,000 sterling (of our money). That is to say, throwing off little fractions—as go-

ahead, "clever" fellows like us must, with an old friend who has treated us to a harbor full of tea, and a scalping revolution afterwards, ought—for every dollar's worth of the "manufactures" they send us, we, *videlicet* the cute Yankees, give them in payment three dollars' worth! Neither the boasting of "the Morning Twaddle," nor the space of a note is sufficient, however, to do justice to these statistics.

Europe, or deposit of her arterial sewerage, struggled against the tyranny and the plunder of the then omnipotent, the feudal, and the despotic Spain. Her trade had been banned, her commerce taxed, her industry ruined. In the reign of the Spanish Philip she arose from her mud into liberty, and within that hundred years of her labor she established not only freedom, but manufactures; not only nominal, but material independence. Her history since then is on the lip of every lover of freedom, of every admirer of sturdy industry. Though ridden down by every cavalry of Europe, though scuttled and sunk a dozen times or so, it "made no difference"; she arose to the surface again with her gear all standing, and her flag more honored, and still preserves her integrity, and feeds and clothes herself; and, should the world around her tumble into chaos, can do so still.

That was the work of *her* first seventy years of freedom; without steam, railroads, telegraphs, or the like; and, she may thank the God who watches over her mud-holes, without British influences of "free trade" or American folly to fall beneath them.

There was a time, too, when *England* scorned "free trade," as she would the seductive phrases of a swindler. In the reign of the Eighth Henry; he who came after the humiliation of the feudal barons, to humiliate, in his rough and sinful way, a very sinful and debased Church, and raise up one still more debasing and himself,—in his reign, England stood in relation to Holland and the Netherlands, precisely as America now stands in relation to England. The markets of London, we are told, were filled "with iron, lumber, and leather, ready manufactured; and nails, locks, baskets, cupboards, stools, tables, chests, girdles, saddles, and painted cloths"—the chronicler does not add, Dutch metal spectacles and shagreen cases; but as Don Juan said, with reference to some small matters of a different character, "we may suppose them." The English, exactly, grew food for the Dutch, and the Dutch ate it—wool for the Dutch, and the Dutch wove it—leather for the Dutch, and the Dutch made out of it knights' saddles, the casing of armor, caparisons, &c. &c. But the English did not make use of transition from old tyrannies to an order, in their opinion, more free and agreeable, to increase their farming for the

Dutch, their wool for the Dutch, or their leather for the Dutch. On the contrary, the chronicler tells how a certain Dr. Bell, who seems really to have been a very earnest and honest new light in his way, preached against the foreign "free traders" to his countrymen, from the pulpit, and from the text, "The heavens to the Lord in heaven, but the earth to the children of men;" (as contra-distinguished, we presume, to the children of Holland;) showing how, "as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to cherish and maintain themselves, and to hurt and grieve aliens for respect of their commonwealth;" (as contra-distinguished, we presume, from the practice, still general, of citizens *not* cherishing or maintaining themselves, but hurting and grieving their commonwealth for respect of *aliens*.) And the English did not call Doctor Bell a "Whig" for that same excellent sermon, but, on the contrary, took it to heart and put it in practice; and so, within the first eighty years after the "dawn of the Reformation," after the release of the English mind from feudalism in Church and State to despotism, a then modified form of liberty, the Dutch "free-traders" were driven back to their native mud, British industry was established, and the foundation of that imperial system laid, which, however since loaded with a superstructure of avarice and crime, has supported and supports an empire the most stupendous in size, the most magnificent in wealth, and the most abominable in the means taken to increase and strengthen it, of any known to the "children of men."

Such was the use made by their first seventy years of liberty by the wise Dutch, and the once sturdy and now politic English.

And now, with *its* seventy years, its wondrous opportunities, its resources, its common weal untrammelled by an English Henry or a State Church, by an upstart nobility or a Court of prostitutes; untrammelled, too, by the débris of an old social tyranny, by the mendicancy and misery left behind it by the feudality under which England labored; with its virgin soil, its population fresh and vigorous; with no opponent to swathe or cripple its young arms, with the world open to it, the world hailing and welcoming it,—what has America done in the way of founding a nation; in the way of "fostering and maintaining itself"? Nothing, absolutely nothing. After giving away to

all the world, with a maniacal prodigality, for seventy years,—freedom, peace, “religion,” and “free trade,” have brought its citizens to this astounding position in the nations, that, if a blight sequent on natural causes or other, should, during this or any previous year, have killed off or rendered useless their crops, leaving only sufficient to feed their population from hand to mouth for that season, one half of that population must have starved that their food might have provided clothes for the remainder, or all would have had to go naked; the native market in fish-shaped leaves would have experienced “an unusual prosperity,” and American gentlemen—we say nothing of the ladies—would be compelled to appear in public or private parties in the full dress costume of father Adam. The wealth produced by the previous seventy years has been eaten or worn, or now lies up, treasured in the warehouses of Liverpool, and called “dry goods” and “cutlery,”—*our* cotton and our food have created these—are really these and nothing else; but they are not ours now; “*via* Liverpool” has impounded them. We must, besides having grown them, and furnished food—that is, wages—to transform them, further release them from their impoundage by paying for our own food and our own cotton, with more food and more cotton; and not having these now to spare above our own wants, we must even appear in the costume formerly fashionable in Eden; and some “upper ten” gentlemen, who never before dressed in anything native, may further attest their former respectability by flourishing about, on state occasions, the remnants of British cotton pocket-handkerchiefs, or wearing, by way of extravagant ornament, Brummagem Britannia metal spectacles with shagreen cases.

It was against this “balance of trade,” which left untold wealth in England and nothing in America, all the plunder on one side, all the dependency and servility on the other, that the Americans of the last age first took up arms. In 1760 the thirteen States, repressed under a foreign monopoly in commerce and navigation, without any manufacturing power, and subject to every species of galling and indirect tax, yielded by such compulsion a market to England of thirty millions of dollars. Now, as we said, under simple British “free trade” alone, Americans of this age, by the use of their free-

dom, and their independence, and their star-spangled banner, and all that, yield to the same British a yearly market of one hundred millions. In 1766 the citizens of New-York, seeing in its nakedness the terrible plunder of England, formed an association for the “making of linens and woollens; of spades, scythes, and other irons; of paper-hangings, &c.” And British chronicler Craig tells us that such was the sturdy sense of right and love of being independent in Americans then, that “these efforts of the manufacturing and mercantile community were supported by the people at large; the productions of American industry were bought with avidity; it became the fashion among all classes to appear dressed in the cloth of the country; and it is related that the general zeal for promoting the native woollen manufacture gave rise to a resolution against eating lamb, or buying meat from any butcher who should kill lambs!” Nice worshippers of the glorious principles of “free trade,” these—pretty subjects for British “civilization”—great adorers of Manchester Christianity, must indeed have been these superstitious fools who fancied to propitiate the God of nations by abstinence from infant sheep, even as ridiculously as the Catholic seeks favor with the Thunderer by bolting herrings! No doubt, no doubt they sinned wofully against the gospel according to Malthus, the good Sir Robert, and Mr. Johann Boal—did not know their own interests, opposed civilization and human progress, and were, in short, veritable fools in comparison to *us*, double-distilled patent democrats. But then these lamb-abstaining fools by *such* means established human liberty first upon the earth, gave us, as the result of their folly, American freedom and national independence; did, in fact and truth, by long abstinence from lamb and cottons, by sore trial and suffering—did the only noble and heroic deed yet recorded of the American nation,—they acquired for themselves, and bequeathed to their posterity, an enfranchised world, gave to their children wealth, happiness, food, clothes, and peace—in one word, LIBERTY. And had they eaten the lambs and exported the wool, grown the corn and sent it off, the cotton and sent it off, raised the iron and sent it off, and continued sensible “free-traders,” as we would no doubt have done; we would be now as they were once, *slaves*, without a

ship upon the ocean; without a flag above our heads to which we could look up with anything but hate; without the privilege of utterance or of law; without the right to grow or wear, save as their "free trade" masters listed; without even the right to exist. And we, ungrateful but really very wise contemners of our fathers' virtues, with our bumps of benevolence largely developed, and explained to us by Mr. Fowler, with our humanitarian principles in full swing—and receiving remarkable commendation from England, as compared with our gallant predecessors—have accepted the glorious legacy they left us, and showed our estimation of it and them—by turning round on the means by which they acquired it, and by which they knew it was alone to be preserved, and smashing them. It is just as if our friend, the cobbler, having emancipated himself from the yoke of Mr. Johann, and re-established his original trade of making shoes for self, family, and neighbors, should, after experiencing one term of servitude and one term of liberty, abrogate his liberty afresh, and return, like a dog, to his vomit. We have turned, in our "free trade" haste, on the little factories the great men of the past age left us, as the nuclei of American empire and independent nationality, and broken them into fragments. We have scorned their divine abstinence, and returned to the avaricious gluttony from which they arose to war for the freedom and the lives of their children. We have killed the lamb, and sent away the wool!

This system of home manufacture, protected by common consent and sustained by a popular loyalty to the American flag, by abstinence, by severe trial for a little, is one which requires, in those who practise it, some high impulse—like that for self-preservation—great endurance, great self-sacrifice, and, indeed, all great virtues; and proportionate to the difficulties which beset it, are its effects as a system of war upon an enemy. It has ever humbled England more than arms; as in 1776 and 1812. It produced, even for the limited time during which it was sustained, throughout America a national sentiment and a national honor. And, in abandoning it, we not only forsook the prime seed and fairest fruit of liberty, but threw our weight from the protection of freedom to the support of oppression, and passed, in an instant, from the position of a

new-born nation, combating like a chivalrous champion for the rights of all men, into that of the selfish supporter, for our own avaricious ends, of an oligarchy against whose tyranny we had the first rebelled, which had proved itself, during the war, insensible alike to justice or mere humanity, and which we had, for our own behoof, flung back upon the world. We are well aware of the causes which produced this step; of the impossibility, by mere political means, of preventing its adoption; but it is not for us here to enter into the discussion of the partisan wars of a past generation. It may be permissible in a Republican of the present day to desire the greatness of America, without being a Federalist; to desire the downfall of that thrice-cursed oligarchy of Britain, which the Americans of the last age brought to its knee for the world, and raised it to its feet again against the world, without being antagonistic to State rights. The present writer takes leave to disown, beforehand, either imputation. But it is a subject of bitter regret to all men who view America otherwise than through the eyes of a partisan stump-orator or ballot-box politician, that while both the wars of 1776 and 1812 gave rise to those combinations against a common danger—combinations effected by public will and a loyalty in all to each other, and not by any political upholstery—which best insure a stable, happy, and indefeasible nationality; that both wars, resulting in victory, did not eternalize the good they called into action, but effaced it; did not result, too, in prolonging, enlarging, and solidifying these combinations, but in utterly eradicating them, and flinging the American nation back again into the same position it occupied prior to them. As a colony or a nation, in peace or war, the American people have never ceased to feel the British policy of dividing them into hostile camps, playing fast or loose with either alternately, and so ruling all. It is a policy so very old and so very vulgar that one would think modern men would feel ashamed at being its victims. As Mr. Johann Bool punished a refractory cabbage-grower by refusing to live on him, so has England, from time immemorial, dealt with, and intimidated its refractory colonies on this continent. And the inevitable result of freedom here was but to increase her power, unless estopped by a sturdy loyalty and a national will. Thus, when the War of Inde-

pendence resulted in placing thirteen young Republics on an equality, putting them down side by side on Freedom's course; their eyes straining to the goal; they started, each endeavoring to outspeed and master the rest. And so, casting about for every available support which could tend to magnify its power or increase its importance, each in its turn sought aid in foreign alliances, and fell in turn into the hands and under the sway of Britain. The cotton grower of the far South, the tobacco grower of the mid seaboard, the food grower of the North, having formerly traded with Britain, and knowing the vast temporary weight which would be accorded to the most favored by their former master, fell successively into the trap. The old empire, beaten in war, was a perfect master in the science of Machiavel; and, practising it, she re-established that relation of producer and consumer which exists to this hour, by which she takes the cotton of the Carolinian, and the tobacco of the Old Dominion, and the corn of the North,—takes all three, patronizes and governs the producers of all three,—and plays them against each other when it suits her, tossing the pea of "British market" from thimble to thimble in a rig, to the perfect wonder of the gazing greenhorn, and her own most hilarious profit!

But in accepting this position, the American nation not only made away with its birth-right, not only gave its dinner for an old coat, but acted falsely to humanity. We have been accustomed to say, "America has advanced human liberty by her example"—a cheap outlay, to say the best of it, and one for which human liberty would not give a straw, if it were negated by a larger and more practical outlay in support of tyrants. Now we propose to show, by way of general moral upon this article, that the hundreds of millions of produce which America has for seventy years handed over to England, have been not only prodigally wasted, so far as the mere material profit and loss of this nation go, but actually expended in support of an infamous tyranny against other nations, which she *would* not endure herself. The notion that because we have preserved "peace," we have preserved towards the nations of Europe a status of neutrality, is mere moonshine. We have never been neutral towards the nations of Europe; except, indeed, when we have been at war on our

own soil with one of them.* In the seventy years, minus two, of peace which have ensued since colonial days, our sturdiest support has been given in material wealth of our own creating to the eternal enemies of the human race.

We shall explain this seemingly unknown truth.

In the eighth decade of the last century, (1771-1780) the empire subject to the British oligarchy extended over Britain, and under a constitutional veil, over Ireland, over all America, and the West Indies not Spanish or French, and over a portion of Southern India—we omit the outposts of Gibraltar and the Cape, and the then unimportant islands of the main. Their subjects may then as now be divided into three classes.

1st. The races and peoples, politically or by conquest, subject to them: as the natives of Ireland, the people of England, the races of India. 2d. The inhabitants of new countries subject in the relation of colonists to the mother country: as the people of the thirteen colonies, the Canadians, the planters of Jamaica, &c. And 3dly. Those subject to them through arrangements, called commercial or economic: as for instance, the nations of all Europe, (excepting Holland and the Low Countries,) France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Italy, &c.; the nations of Asia—Persia, Hindostan—of Northern Africa, of Southern America. We are to add to these the peoples and nations subject to them through the bribery or terror of their kings, and who subsequently figured in the Indian wars as "protected" puppets, or in the Holy Alliance as the recipients of the English "national debt"—or subsidized tools.

The "government" of this empire was very unequivocal; it consisted of plundering unscrupulously on all sides, and representing all resistance by brute force—of sending out the tax-gatherer, and at his back a bayonet.

The people of England were kept at work with the spade, or in the factory—everything

* A "Bull" no doubt; therefore very laughable; but as true as eggs are eggs—unless they are hatched meanwhile—for all that. In self defence, the present writer must say, that any mouth can let a pun; but he assures the readers of the American Review, that it takes a genius to make a bull, or, to understand one. Therefore, ye who don't understand the above—[we forbear the conclusion of our eccentric contributor.]

they produced, over and above what actually was requisite to feed them, passed to the King in taxes, to the aristocracy in rent, to the plutocracy in profits; and more if needful.

The people of Ireland were entirely agricultural, and for their special government a special aristocracy was provided. The mercantile community of Ireland was entirely limited to those who passed goods and luxuries from the British ships (none other were admitted) to the aristocracy; passing back in payment the people's food, and raw produce.

The "colonies," that is, the "thirteen," now U. S., and all foreign countries, were subjected in trading with England to the same monopoly of British ships. The colonies, too, were agricultural—the mercantile community there the same as in Ireland. Taxes were levied on heads and goods—"eighteen pence in the pound sterling"—on English goods imported, on professions, offices, and trades, "half-a-crown (60 cents) in the pound sterling"—and any amount of extra taxes when needed by the exchequer of the oligarchy in England.

The European nations were subjected to duties on the import of British goods, or other goods from British ports—by subsidies, intrigues, and "friendly relations," or, in short, *bribes*, to their several rulers, a perfect monopoly was maintained.

The nations of India, or such of them as were then conquered, were under the influence of a peculiar "free-trade" system, of which and its results we shall hereafter speak.

Thus was established over the world an immense system of organized plunder; the British oligarchies sat in the centre and expended the proceeds.

The people of the "thirteen colonies" were the first to take measures to alleviate in some sort these consequences to themselves. They established mutual associative factories of cloth, and iron, &c., for their own protection, as we have mentioned, and even proceeded to inquire into the foreign right of taxing *them*, and into their capacity *not* to pay. But as the colonies had to be kept up to their former taxative standard, what was taken off by their home manufacture must be laid on in imported luxury; and as the requirements of a spendthrift individual or an aristocratic class are always on the increase, new taxes, of a more outrageous character than any, were demanded to be paid.

What followed needs no recital here. The thirteen colonies took up arms; ended for themselves the nominal sway of the British Imperial system; established the right to tax themselves, and the acknowledged right to consume or not consume British manufactures. This was held to be "Liberty," and, so far as it goes, no doubt is.

But there the national exploits of the new nation ended. Ireland in the meanwhile, fired by her example, had also taken up arms, and proved to America an ally and an useful one. The Irish, the English people, and the Americans then precisely stood towards the British oligarchy, as the Viennese, the Italians, and the Hungarians stood towards the oligarchy of Austria, during the late European contest. They were the common victims of a common oppressor, and were bound alike by human wisdom and eternal justice to stand by one another. America conquered for herself; and thereupon, as before the war, gave her produce to keep up the oppressor of the rest. The British aristocracy, to compensate for the loss of the American taxes, proceeded to work harder the English people, to tax them the more; to break down any barriers, constitutional or national, offered by Ireland to a "closer connection;" to extend their dominions in India, and to render firmer the thinly covered tyranny they exercised over the internal affairs of Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, and Germany. By a series of years of astute tyranny the English succeeded in finally dividing Ireland and breaking down every barrier which opposed their taxes—they conquered her in a rebellion accompanied by cruelties as terrific and as beastly as those for which some stupid brewers recently flogged an Austrian in London; utterly annihilated her reviving manufactures, assumed the direction of her food, and reduced her to the state we even now see, varying between hopeless famine, and as hopeless insurrection. And during the time this horrible tragedy was enacting the Americans were contributing to the riches of England with their cotton, their corn, their wool; buying from their foe cottons and cloths, and hardware, stained with a friendly nation's blood, and bought from an enemy in the very act of a friendly nation's murder. Nay, the very Hessian troops which were employed to burn American towns, torture American men, and rape American women, were similarly employed

to do their work on Ireland; and America gave corn to feed them in the act, gave cotton and wool to enable their employers to clothe them and pay them, in the act. Thus began the financial relations of America and Ireland.

America became, in fact, to England much more productive by her freedom than ever she had been before*—produced and gave to her more cotton, more wool, more raw produce of every kind, bought more numerous and more costly fabrics and implements of her manufacture—helped her to clothe her armies more and better, to feed them more and better, to direct them against any point pleasing to their officers with greater efficiency, to send provisions and clothing after them to a greater amount and with greater certainty, to raise larger fleets and clothe and feed her navies more surely—helped, in fact, in the most strenuous manner to rebuild the empire she had overthrown, raised up again against the liberties of the world her own enemy for her own profit. The only difference between America enslaved and America free was this: the colony cost England heavy sums for necessary coercion, for involuntary commerce—the nation cost her nothing for coercion, but voluntarily supplied the increased requirements of her commerce—officially assuring her, all the while, that her late victorious but now most peaceable colony, had determined not to interfere with her tyranny in the slightest respect! “Advancing the cause of human liberty by our example,”—and the cause of inhuman tyranny—with what have ye advanced that?

But now, too, another class of the subjects of the British oligarchy rose against England—the nations of Europe whose commerce she enthralled; and the first, the same France from whose King she had purchased certain rights of plundering his people for certain sums to keep up his royal brothel,—having flung off the ideas and systems which oppressed her, endeavored, too, to throw out, and keep out her manufactures. Napoleon himself threw his genius, his pen, and his sword into the Continental League against the perfidious shirts of Nessus machinated in Manchester. He roused the people of France, of Germany, of Italy against them. He determined, at the cannon mouth, to resist “cot-

tons,” sword in hand to defeat conquest by “cutlery.” He even made peace with Russia, and threw himself upon the neck of the Emperor Paul to beseech him to join in this crusade—and the Russian consented. But Paul was, for that same adhesion, murdered. The wars against this infamous and blasphemous French revolution, which would not acknowledge the right divine of Lancashire to make breeches for the world, or bow before the sacred divinity in Manchester gowns and kerchiefs, were renewed—the royal parties to the Continental League were successively subsidized and bought off; the people taxed anew, conscribed, and dragged into the battle field; the red cotton pocket-handkerchief waved once more over subjugated Paris, and the eternal enemy of British manufactures lay chained to a rock in St. Helena! England having put down one combination of her customers against her shop, even as Mr. Johann Boolmight, with like means, have brought the refractory cobbler and his neighbors to their senses; started afresh with furnaces in full blast, fabricating new chains for men, weaving new webs of trade “Christianity,” and orthodox “commerce,” with new requirements to fulfil in her mission and her treasury; new debts about her neck which she must make the world pay; with an enslaved Europe laying crushed and broken around her, and a victorious army and a victorious navy at her back with which to renew under the brightest auspices her nefarious designs.

And during this time, while Europe stood up in arms to throw off the commercial tyranny which made her nations, in truth, but the tributaries of a remorseless monopolist, what did the same America, which had lately pledged her life against this monopolist herself? She supplied the monopoly, kept its mills going, its furnaces going, its spinning-jennies going, its trade and commerce going. She brought her cotton to the Englishman's mill, and said, “Spin this, and put down the rightful league formed by the Emperor for the salvation of Europe.” She brought her wool to the Englishman's loom and said, “Weave this, suborn the allies of the Emperor, and restore aristocratic tyranny and your own monopoly to Europe.” She brought her food to the aristocrat's door, and said, “Let not your armies or navies want; here is everything in abundance, go forth and conquer.” And lest this should not be enough,

* *Vide* that note from the London Morning Herald.

she went into the Englishman's shop, and bought his goods, his "dry," "soft," and "hardware" Christianity, and sent him on his way rejoicing to an Irish rebellion, a sack of Paris, a Holy Alliance, or an Indian massacre. What could the unhappy people of Europe and their Continental League do against a nation which, with its own astute tyranny, unscrupulous crime, and vast resources, had besides the corn fields, the cotton lands, the tobacco ground, and all the markets and riches of America at its back? "Advancing human liberty by their example," quotha! Would to God the American people had brought out their armies to fight the battles of the public criminal, and kept to themselves the solid, material "sinews of war" they poured into his coffers!

During two years indeed of this time, while England was almost at peace, the American nation and the British oligarchy were not on "the most amicable terms," and the sinews of war did not pour in as usual. But new wars impending, the aristocracy of England took the soft side of their dear "Transatlantic cousins," as they call them, and again the wealth of America poured into the treasuries and the land of England. Ever since it has unceasingly done so; and that we may fully understand to what end and with what effect, we shall here briefly review the relation existing between the British oligarchy and a few of the people and races subject to them. We have said in the opening part of this article that "free trade" means, in English phrase, to lay hold of every man and nation the oligarchy can, and use its wealth, and produce, and industry as they please. We have already shown that when force was thought needful or useful towards America, force was used; but that jabber and cant are now much more effective instruments as against this country. We shall presently show "free trade" in full play, accompanied by force—men beaten with stripes, whipped with whips, driven before the point of the bayonet to produce certain commodities as laid down by the

English system of "free trade!" And here let us remark again, that the immensity of the resources of America, her, as we fancy, inexhaustible produce, is no argument for submitting to its plunder or waste. If she is actually losing a hundred millions' worth of raw produce per annum, *minus* the labor expended in transforming part of it into British manufactures and so returned to her, it is no justification of the exorbitant waste to say that her people have another hundred millions, or a hundred times that again, at the back of it. If they go on from year to year wasting, and increasing in their waste, a limit must come some time, and that is—want. We would not permit the smallest exorbitant charge in our highest official—why, then, limiting him to twenty-five thousand, should we pay to the Queen of England and her courtiers a hundred millions? If we feel an internal avidity to waste or destroy these one hundred millions, why not throw them into the sea? Why not, as in duty bound, waste them in a manner not directly injurious to others? Why expend them, if we can do without them, in maintaining an odious and abominable tyranny, from which we have no advantage, which is positively ruinous to us politically, beyond what it is commercially? For, should any war break out between the British nation and this continent, what navies would be brought against our ports and shipping but those we have helped to victual and clothe? What armies would be flung upon our coasts but those formed of the British surplus mechanics we have helped to keep in subjection to their oligarchy—but the Irish peasants we have aided to enthrall, plunder, and subjugate?

Here, however, for the present, we must close. To do justice to this subject, we would require as much space as that we have already occupied; and that we may not too far encroach upon our readers' attention, we shall content ourselves with this axiom: "The nation which is justest to itself is justest to the world."

PACIFIC RAILROAD.

THE SENATE COMMITTEE'S REPORT IN FAVOR OF WHITNEY'S PLAN.

THE clear and judicious *Report* of the Senate's Committee, in favor of the plan of Mr. Asa Whitney, for the construction of a railroad, without cost to the Government, from the upper shore of Lake Michigan to the Pacific, will doubtless have the effect to convince all parties (except those who have projects of their own to offer) that the plan of Mr. Whitney is not only the best offered, as regards feasibility, but that it is the freest from constitutional objections. Indeed it has been found impossible to raise any, the least objection on that score, and it is consequently impossible to make it a party measure. It would be fortunate for the nation, could every national undertaking be placed upon as sound and safe a basis as the one offered by the Committee, *namely*, upon the basis of *individual responsibility*.

Although we are entirely convinced that the General Government has a right to appropriate the public moneys to purposes of internal improvement, when it is understood that private enterprise is insufficient to accomplish the ends in view, we are yet satisfied that it is unwise and impolitic to extend the aid of Government toward enterprises which *can* be accomplished without such aid. *Every* railroad and steamboat, every public conveyance, every means of intercommunication, is intended for the use of the entire nation; but it is impolitic and mischievous for the General Government to interfere in the affairs of steamboat and railroad proprietors; for the simple reason, that they are better managed by individuals.

The *magnitude* of the plan advocated by the Senate's Committee does not affect the argument in the case before us. It is believed by the Committee that the Pacific Railroad *can* be built, without risking a dollar of the public money. If the Committee are right in that belief, it is a point of con-

stitutional necessity that this work should be undertaken, if at all, upon their plan. If an hundred millions is to be expended on public works, it can be rightfully appropriated to such only as cannot be constructed either by single States or by individuals. The rivers and harbors of the North and West require to be opened and made safe for Western commerce: the General Government alone has power to improve them. Expenditure upon these works will be sanctioned by the people only because private companies cannot and will not undertake them. Their necessity is their sole excuse.

The great majority of those who have examined Mr. Whitney's plan have pronounced in favor of it, not only because of its freedom from constitutional objections, but because it will require less time in the execution, and cost less than any other. The bill, which will be laid before Congress at the coming session, is so framed as to close up every avenue to fraud and speculation. Its provisions are simple and stringent.

A strip of land, sixty miles in width, reaching from Lake Michigan to the Pacific, is to be set aside by the Government, and the command of its resources, its timber, its water power, and its iron mines given to the person who is to build the road: mortgaged, however, and in the event of failure to return into the hands of Government; excepting only such portions as may have been already sold and occupied by settlers.

This strip will be divided into sections of ten miles. On the completion of the first ten miles of road, the purchaser will be allowed to sell one half of the lands, or a strip five miles in width, the other half being held in reserve by the Government.

The entire cost of the road will have to be defrayed out of the proceeds of the sales of this half, and a second section of ten

miles will be immediately undertaken, and its cost defrayed by the sales of one half of another ten mile strip, aided by any surplus of funds accruing over and above expenses, by the former sales.

The whole work can be carried forward, after the opening of the first ten mile section, with great rapidity. The progress of the road will insure rapid sales, and a rapid rise may be expected in the value of the lands of the entire route.

If, however, contrary to all expectation, after passing through the good lands, and after completing a ten mile section of road, the builder of the road shall show that the sale of one half the land (the alternate five mile sections) did not yield a sufficiency of funds for the construction of a good road, as much of the remaining five mile sections reserved by Government as may be necessary to cover the deficit, shall be offered for sale, &c., &c.

In several articles, during the past two years, we have advocated the plan for a Pacific Railroad, lately adopted by the Senate's Committee, and we are happy to perceive that the public mind is very generally impressed in its favor. The opposition to it has been slight and ineffectual. A few politicians on both sides have endeavored, more industriously than wisely, to give the project a party character. Others have opposed it because it seemed to confer too much power upon a single person,—an argument against every enterprise of the kind, whether undertaken by an agent of the Government or by an individual. It has also been objected, that the projector of the plan may possibly accumulate a fortune by its success; which is as much as saying that it ought not to succeed if undertaken. That a vast number of jobbers and speculators would be enriched by the work, were it undertaken by the Government, is quite certain. It seems therefore that we are bound to secure this immense benefit to the nation and to the entire world, by agents who are to receive no return for the risk they incur, or the expenditure of years of time and labor in its accomplishment! Should the projector realize a considerable fortune, by the success of the work, *at the end of twenty years*, the benefit to the nation will by that time have exceeded hundreds of millions; not only by the commercial movement which would take

place across the continent, after the completion of the road, but by the settlement of several millions of acres of land, and a vast increase of our Western population.

In the very able and lucid Report of Mr. Bright, the Chairman of the Committee, we find expressed the most unqualified approbation of the plan of Mr. Whitney. Among all the plans submitted to them, they are obliged to pronounce in its favor, without qualification, and they conclude that it "*ought to be adopted.*"

"Your Committee have been aided in the examination of this subject by the very favorable and full reports of different Committees of both Houses of each Congress for the last five years, and of the Legislatures of some eighteen States, decidedly and expressly recommending the adoption of this plan over all others; and the unanimity with which said resolutions were adopted in both branches of the different Legislatures is, as your Committee believe, without a parallel. Public meetings throughout the country, in our populous cities, have been equally decided and unanimous in expressing the same favor for this plan; and even since the two Conventions held last fall—the one at St. Louis and the other at Memphis—public meetings, numerous and most respectably attended, have been held at Cincinnati, at Louisville, at Indianapolis, at Dayton, at Columbus, and at Zanesville, at all of which resolutions were almost unanimously adopted in favor of this plan, and declaring it *the only one capable of being carried out*; and your Committee believe, from the frequent expressions of the public press, and from other sources, *that the opinion of the country is almost universally concentrated on this plan.*"

"The bill proposes that a belt of territory sixty miles wide,—that is, thirty miles on each side of the road,—with its eastern base on Lake Michigan and its western on the Pacific, comprehending about 78,000,000 of acres, shall be sold and appropriated to this object, to be accounted for by Mr. Whitney at the national treasury, at ten cents per acre, good, bad, and indifferent,—amounting to nearly \$8,000,000.

"When it is considered that tens and scores of millions of acres of the public domain are now being, and about to be *given* away, for various objects, and that some of our leading statesmen are proposing to give

all the public lands away, with some prospect of success; and when, moreover, it is considered that only a little more than one third of the belt proposed to be set apart for this road is good and saleable land, it must be seen there is little chance or probability that the Government will ever get as much for this territory as by selling it for this road at ten cents per acre. Consequently the road, built on this plan, will itself be a capital of immense and incalculable value, and so much *positive gain* to the nation, which, as your Committee will endeavor to show, could in no other way be realized."

The capital to be employed for the construction of the work is to be realized solely by the rise in value of the lands, following upon the sales and settlements of the first portions, as the work advances.

"The capital to build the road with is to be *created* by the increased value which the building of the road will impart to the lands thus set apart, and through which the road is to pass; and, when created and thus invested, the bill provides that the use of the road shall be a *positive and perpetual gratuity* to trade and commerce, with no other tax for transport of passengers and merchandise than such tolls as may be necessary to keep the road and its apparatus in working order—which tolls are to be determined on and regulated by Congress.

"Here, as your Committee think will be seen, are two great and peculiar principles of this plan, which, as the Committee believe, are not only fundamental, but vital to the great object in view:—

"1. The capital is *created—a positive creation—not borrowed*. If it were borrowed, or drawn from other sources, as all other plans contemplate, it would be necessary to impose tolls for dividends to satisfy the interest; and then the great end in view would be sacrificed. The end proposed is to draw trade and commerce on this line, by means of cheap transport between the great East and the great West of the United States, between the United States and Asia, and between Europe and Asia. But if tolls should be required to meet the interest on the cost of the road, this end could not be accomplished, and the enterprise would be a stupendous failure. But on the plan proposed, with tolls sufficient only for expenses of operation and necessary repairs, it is believed that a passenger may

be taken over the whole line of the road, 2,030 miles, for \$20; a bushel of corn for 25 cents; a barrel of flour for \$1; a ton weight of merchandise for \$10; and one ton measurement of teas (a half ton weight) for \$5. At these rates, can it be doubted that the corn of the Mississippi Valley may be put down in China for 40 cents transit per bushel,—worth there, as your Committee are informed, from 75 cents to \$1.25 for 60 pounds weight,—leaving an average of from 30 to 35 cents a bushel to the producer, and, as the Committee are also informed, with an unlimited demand? And so of agricultural products, and of every other species of merchandise, going to and fro between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States, between the Mississippi Valley and Asia, between our eastern coast and Asia, and between Europe and Asia,—in a word, between a population of 250,000,000 in Europe, *across our bosom*, and 500,000,000 in Asia; as also between ourselves and all Asia.

"But double these rates of transport,—as would inevitably be the case were the road built on *any other* plan of means, always requiring tolls sufficient, in addition to the expenses of operation and repairs, to meet the interest on the cost of the work,—and the whole of this immense and vastly extended commerce would be for ever prevented from springing into being; and the comparatively small amount now carried on between us and Asia, and between Europe and Asia, would be found to follow its old routes. Your Committee are therefore of opinion that this road can never be built and sustained *except by capital created by itself*, as by the plan proposed, and that it would be doomed to failure, even if it should be attempted, on the credit of the Government, as the people would never submit to perpetual taxation for the interest on its cost.

"Your Committee are of opinion that the cheap transport to be obtained by the plan proposed involves the only principle on which this road can be made a successful enterprise; and it is all the more satisfactory, as it will not cost the Government and people of the United States a single dollar."

If this road were to be built by Government it would cost, by Col. Abert's estimate, one hundred and twenty-seven millions and a half. By Mr. Whitney's plan, say the

Senate Committee, its cost will be only sixty millions. Government is to receive eight millions for the land, to be paid out of the sales as the work advances, making the entire cost \$68,000,000, which will be covered by an average of 87½ cents per acre for the entire tract.

"The chief reliance must be on the first eight hundred miles, which constitute, with little exception, the good and saleable lands. From what is known of the effect of railroads and canals on the value of lands and other property bordering upon them, the Committee think it safe to conclude that such a road will add great value to the land through which it passes; and whether it will be sufficient for the purpose, is the risk of the party undertaking it.

"Your Committee believe that the building of the road will undoubtedly create facilities for settlement on its line for at least the eight hundred miles of good lands, and cause a demand for them to an available amount of means equal to any possible judicious application of *means* to the construction of the work; and the reserved half of lands, as hereinafter provided for, daily increasing in value, would certainly be a sure source of capital for an equal or greater distance beyond the good and through the poor lands, a part of which latter would no doubt be made available for settlement by means of the road.

"Your Committee think it would be very difficult, and enormously expensive, if not impossible, to construct such a road through a now entire wilderness, on any plan of means, unless settlement can keep pace with the work; and that this plan, as it connects the sale and settlement of the lands with the work itself, is not only the *only* sure plan of means, but by it the work will advance as rapidly, or more so, than on any other plan. Besides, these lands, with this great highway through their centre, could not, in the opinion of the Committee, fail to command any amount of money required for the progress of the work, as their daily increasing value would render them the most safe and most profitable investment for money."

It is impossible to give the details of the plan in a more condensed and lucid shape than is exhibited in this able Report:—

"The security of the interests and rights of the public is to be considered. The bill provides that the first eight hundred miles

of good land shall be divided into sections of five miles each—that is, five miles by sixty; and that, after Mr. Whitney shall have built his first ten miles of road, and after it shall have been accepted by the Government commissioner appointed for the purpose, as being in all things a fulfilment of Mr. Whitney's engagements, and not till then, he shall be entitled to sell the first section of five miles by sixty, as well as he can, to reimburse himself for his expenditures on the first ten miles of road already completed and accepted; and so on, in the same manner and on the same conditions, for every successive ten miles of the first eight hundred, leaving every alternate section of five miles by sixty untouched, with all its increased value created by the road, as public security for carrying on the work to the Pacific. Thus, when the road shall have been completed through this eight hundred miles of good land, the Government will hold, as security for the extension and final completion of the work, the road itself, all its machinery, four hundred miles by sixty of these good lands untouched and raised to a high value by this public work, together with the entire remainder of the belt to the Pacific.

"The bill also provides that the titles of the lands sold by Mr. Whitney shall be given to the actual purchasers by the Government, and not by him, and that all remainders unsold shall be disposed of at public auction at the end of ten years after the road shall have been completed on each ten-mile section—that is, the unsold parts of Mr. Whitney's sections of five miles by sixty; and this, to prevent the reservation of lands for speculation. From the end of this first eight hundred miles to the Pacific, where the lands are poor and unavailable, the bill provides that Mr. Whitney shall proceed as follows, to wit: that, at the end of every ten miles of road completed and accepted as before, he shall be entitled to sell the whole section of ten miles by sixty, to reimburse himself, as far as the sales will go, for his expenditures on that ten miles of road; and for any deficit, he shall be entitled to go back and sell at public auction to the highest bidder, in lots of forty to one hundred and sixty acres, as much of the reserved untouched lands on the first eight hundred miles as this deficit may require; and so on, and in the same manner, for every succeed-

ing ten miles to the Pacific, selling the lands of each ten-mile section after the road shall have been completed and accepted, and going back to sell the reserved lands only when and so far as there may be a deficit, as before; and all this, under the supervision and authority of the Government commissioner, whose duty it shall be to see to the fulfilment of the terms of the bill.

"If, at any stage of this work, Mr. Whitney shall fail on his part, the bill provides that all his rights shall be forfeited to the Government, and that the road, so far as completed, with all its machinery, shall belong to the Government; and Congress may sell or dispose of it as may be deemed meet, for the benefit of the nation; and all the unsold and reserved lands would revert and belong to the nation, the same as if this act had never been made a law. And if Mr. Whitney should die, his successors would be under the same obligations, and liable to the same penalties, on the same conditions. The bill also provides that, when the road is completed to the Pacific, with its machinery in operation, to the satisfaction of Congress, so that the Government can in no way be made liable for the expenses of its operation and repairs, then whatever, *if any*, surplus lands may remain unsold, shall be sold for the account and benefit of Mr. Whitney; and whatever surplus money may remain, after paying all charges against said road, shall be his, as a reward or compensation for this work, and the road and its machinery shall be considered as belonging to the nation. Although the bill provides that the title thereto shall vest in Mr. Whitney, still Congress retains the power to fix and regulate the tolls for both passengers and merchandise, so that no more shall be earned than barely sufficient for the expenses of operation and repairs, and the United States mails are to be transported free. Congress will hold the power to give the management of the road to any other party at any time when Mr. Whitney may fail to operate it as the wants of the people require. Thus it is clear to your Committee that Mr. Whitney's only chance of gain from the enterprise is in the hope of making the lands, by building the road through them, produce him a sum *exceeding* what will have been his actual outlay for the construction of the road, its machinery, and the \$8,000,000, or the ten cents per acre,

which he is to pay into the treasury of the United States for the entire belt of lands."

"Your Committee believe, as informed by Mr. Whitney, that available lands, with timber, other material, and with facilities for the work, do not exist, and cannot be had on any other route, so as to justify the commencement of the work with any possible hope of success, and that he would not attempt it on any other route. There is no plan before your Committee in competition or conflicting with Mr. Whitney's that does not depend, either directly or indirectly, on the public treasury, or on government credit, for means.

"Moreover, your Committee believe it will be found, by actual measurement, that the route proposed by Mr. Whitney is the most direct and shortest for commerce from all our Atlantic cities to the Pacific, by the South Pass, (probably the only feasible route,) and around the globe—which is the great end in view. It is shorter, for example, from Baltimore to the great South Pass, by more than 300 miles, than by way of St. Louis; and the eastern terminus, or the crossing of the Mississippi river, reckoning on other connecting lines of railroad existing and projected, is nearer to Mobile by 300 miles than to New-York, and 500 miles nearer to Mobile than to Boston; and, as appears to your Committee, it would be more fair and more equal for all our Atlantic ports than a more southern route; and, amongst the several routes proposed, this appears to be the only one by which a line of railroad can be extended from our Atlantic ports to the Pacific without being broken by rivers or waters which cannot be bridged—a most imperative necessity for such a highway of commerce across this continent, as it is a well-known fact that transshipments and commissions often amount to as much or more than the transport.

"This plan, as your Committee believe, would rescue the whole subject from sectional and party strifes, and from all liabilities of being employed as a corrupt and corrupting engine of party or of executive patronage, or as a stockjobbing machine: there being no stock and no dividends, it could never go into Wall street or into the money markets of Europe; and as to party or executive patronage, the only agent of the Government which the proposed law requires or authorizes is the commissioner

to be appointed to see that the different enactments of the bill are carried out.

"Assuming, as is already shown, and as your Committee think will be found to be the fact, that no other plan is feasible, your Committee consider that the most forcible of all reasons for adopting Mr. Whitney's plan is, that its execution will effect a complete revolution in the routes of commerce; that it will bring the great bulk of the trade of the world on this line, and make our country the great *focus* of the commercial transactions of all nations—making the heart of our country the centre of the world, its banking-house, and its great exchange.

"Distance, time, and cost of transport, are the controlling laws of trade. By measuring a globe, it will be seen that on the parallel proposed for this road is the shortest line between our Atlantic ports and Asia, and the shortest line between Europe and Asia across our continent; and it is worthy of remark, that this belt around embraces, and that this route would accommodate, nearly the entire population of the globe—that is, the enterprising and industrious part."

It is computed by engineers that a road with 1,000,000 tons of business may earn fair dividends, at a cost of \$50,000 the mile, on a charge for transportation of one cent a ton. Accepting these estimates, the Committee declare that the cost of transportation between Europe and Asia, would be less by this road than by ships, going about Cape Horn, or the Cape of Good Hope.

It is also ascertained that the construction of a ship canal crossing the Isthmus of Panama would not interfere with the business that might pass over this road. From New-York to China by Panama is 13,000 miles, with every allowance for winds and currents. By the Cape of Good Hope it is 14,255 miles, say the Committee. From New-York to the mouth of Columbia river by steamers and the Isthmus is 6,000 miles, and requires thirty-five days of travel. By the railroad it will be less than half the distance, (2,961 miles,) and require five to eight days' travel! an immense saving of labor, time, and cost, which would insure the preference of the railroad above all other routes.

The annual aggregate of imports and exports between Europe and Asia is said to be in value about \$250,000,000. The whole of this immense commerce would be drawn from its present route, and sent across the

North American continent; a result of which the political and commercial consequences exceed imagination. This vast commerce is now carried on by foreign shipping, chiefly British; if it passed over the North American continent, our own merchants would become the carriers of it. Our own commercial and naval power would increase in proportion as that of Great Britain diminished.

From the terminus of the railroad on the Pacific coast, a short and easy communication would be opened, a result of infinite importance to the gold countries and to the great State of Oregon that is to be, and that could not fail to give those countries a commercial importance surpassing that of any other part of this continent.

The Committee do not hesitate to *urge* the adoption of Mr. Whitney's plan:—

"Will we sell these lands, as proposed by the bill, for a sum exceeding, as your Committee believe, that which the Government can expect to receive for the same tract in any other manner, and with such other restrictions and conditions as shall guarantee to the nation the execution and accomplishment of this great highway for nations without the outlay of one dollar by the nation, without one penny of tax or burden upon the people, and no tolls except sufficient *only* for the expenses of repairs and operation, binding our Atlantic and Pacific possessions together, and making the commercial world tributary to us?

"Or will we decide against this great work, promising these vast and important results—abandon them all—let our Pacific possessions separate and form an independent nation, controlling, as they will, the immense fisheries and commerce of the vast Pacific, with the commerce of Japan, China, and all Asia? Will we decide that the lands, which can now be applied to and effect the accomplishment of this stupendous and truly national work, shall be wasted away for party political capital and other purposes, whereby the nation can never receive any direct benefit—when, too, the objects urged by those who wish to dispose of the lands to settlers without pay would be more immediately effected in the accomplishment of this work, because its construction would give employment to settlers, and create the means to pay for their lands, and place them a hundred fold better off than to have the lands

free of cost without the road, which is the only means by which their products could reach the markets, so as to yield a return for their labor?

"Your Committee cannot hesitate in forming a decision upon this subject, not doubting that those who examine it will be impressed with the same views, and form the same conclusions as your Committee have done. Therefore, your committee recommend the adoption by Congress of the bill proposed, and urge its immediate adoption. The various plans and bills now before Congress for disposing of very large amounts of the public domain, together with the constant demand for actual settlement, particularly at the first part or commencement of the proposed route, are rendering the execution of this plan more and more difficult every day; and your Committee believe the time must soon arrive when these lands on the first part of the route, so desirable for immediate available means, and possessing timber, materials, and facilities for commencing and carrying on the work into the wilderness, will be so far disposed of for other purposes as to render the accomplishment of this work doubtful, or impossible. And to wait for further surveys and explorations, as has been proposed by some, would, in the opinion of your Committee, be the defeat and abandonment of this plan for ever; and, besides, the authorization of surveys for a railroad to the Pacific would justly be considered by the people as sanctioning the commencement of a Government work, which your Committee cannot recommend, nor would it be sanctioned by the people, as your Committee believe: neither do your Committee think it at all necessary, nor does this plan require, to delay the adoption of this bill for further surveys. The rivers have been examined by Mr. Whitney himself, to ascertain at what points they can be bridged. From the lake to his point on the Mississippi, it is well known that there are no difficulties on his route; from the Mississippi to his point on the Missouri, his route is without obstacles; and thence to the South Pass, it is well known that impediments do not exist. While these three sections are being constructed, the route thence to the Pacific can be explored, surveyed, and fixed upon.

"The route from the lake to the South Pass, as your Committee are informed, has

no parallel for feasibility on the face of the globe; and from the South Pass to the Pacific, the explorations of Colonel Fremont and others, as well as the immense emigration to Oregon and California, abundantly certify that it is feasible. Besides, the streams, which wend their way all from the South Pass to the Columbia and the Pacific, indicate a favorable route, it being a well-known fact that there are no very great falls or rapids in the streams emptying into the Columbia; and that river has cut its way and made a route through the mountains to the ocean."

We cannot sufficiently commend to the attention of our readers that excellent feature of the plan recommended by the Senate's Committee, that there will be no new offices created by it, to be filled by the favor of the Executive. There can be no jobbing nor corruption. The American principle, that nothing that *can* be accomplished by private enterprise should be attempted by the General Government. The cost of such a road, undertaken upon a Government survey, itself to consume many years and several millions in the preparation, would consume the amount of the entire revenues of the nation for several years, and compel the Government to contract an immense debt, and finally to institute a system of direct taxes. An army of applicants for office under the great Railroad administration—which would constitute a separate Bureau, or Department—would beset the doors of the Cabinet. The work would drag on heavily, perhaps for ages, and its completion be postponed to the utmost limit by those who were receiving salaries for superintending its construction.

Under the plan recommended by the Committee, on the contrary, every inducement is held out to the contractor, Mr. Whitney, to finish it with the greatest expedition, since the value of the lands upon which it is commenced, in the region between the Lakes Superior and Michigan, will be increased as the road lengthens out over the wilderness, and creates new settlements upon its line.

With every year that passes, the difficulty of constructing such a road is increased. The great timber region south of Lake Superior is the only tract of country that can now be depended on to furnish the materials of the road. The timber on this tract

is being cut away annually in vast quantities, by companies who appropriate it without leave from Government. A grant of the lands for this great national enterprise will convert the property of the nation to its right use, and put an end to these depredations.

It has been suggested that Government ought to undertake a regular survey of the various routes from the Atlantic to the Pacific, before proceeding to the grant of lands. This would only cause a delay of the work for five or six years longer, by the end of which time the timber would have been in great part cut away from the region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, upon which it will be necessary to construct the road. The survey would be, for other rea-

sons, wholly unnecessary. The route has been thoroughly examined already, wherever examination was necessary. A survey of the prairies for such a purpose would be of about as much service as a survey of the ocean between New-York and Liverpool. Five years of delay, an idle expenditure of several millions, and the final defeat of the entire undertaking, would be the almost certain consequences of such a survey. It will be proposed by the enemies of the project, as a political manœuvre to stop proceedings. A vast number of unemployed engineers and others would find it a good job for several years, and the stigma of Government patronage will have been irretrievably fixed upon the work. The enemies of the plan will of course vote for the survey.

MISCELLANY.

WE give the following account from the *London Times* of the chief events in the life of Louis Philippe :—

Louis Philippe was born in Paris, on the 6th of October, 1773, and was the eldest son of Philippe Joseph, Duke of Orleans, (known to the world by the *soubriquet* of "Philippe Egalité,") and of Marie, the daughter of the Duke de Penthièvre. Trained by careful and benevolent parents, the youth of the future King was marked by many acts of benevolence, bespeaking high character, sufficient to call forth the high commendation of the celebrated Madame de Genlis, whose wise and judicious training was well calculated to develop any latent good qualities in the minds of those under her charge. The diary of the Duke de Chartres shows that he was not altogether exempt from revolutionary doctrines, and these ideas were far from being discouraged by his connection with the Jacobin Club. In 1791 the young Duke, who had previously received the appointment of Colonel in the 14th Regiment of Dragoons, assumed the command of that corps, and almost the first act of his authority was the saving of two clergymen from the fury of the mob, consequent upon their refusal, in common with many others, to take the oath required by the Constitution. Much personal courage was on this occasion displayed by the Duke de Chartres, and equal tact in guiding the feelings of an enraged mob. A similar amount of courage was shown by him in saving from drowning a M. de Siret, of the Sub-Engineer in the Office of Roads

and Bridges, and a civic crown was presented to him by the municipal body of that town.

In August, 1791, the Duke de Chartres quitted Vendome with his regiment, bound for Valenciennes. In April, 1792, war being declared against Austria, the Duke made his first campaign. He fought at Valmy at the head of the troops confided to him by Kellermann, on the 20th of September, 1792, and afterwards on the 6th of November, under Dumouriez, at Jemappes. During the period in which the Duke de Chartres was engaged in the military operations the revolution was hastening to its crisis. The decree of banishment against the Bourbon Capet race, so soon afterward repealed, seems to have alarmed the mind of the Duke, who earnestly besought his father to seek an asylum on a foreign shore, urging the unhappiness of his having to sit as a judge of Louis XVI. The Duke of Orleans paid no attention to these remonstrances, and finding that his persuasions were to no avail, the Duke de Chartres returned to his post in the army. The execution of the Duke of Orleans soon afterward verified the melancholy anticipations of his son. He was put to death on the 21st of January, 1793. Exactly seven months after the death of his father the Duke de Chartres and General Dumouriez were summoned before the Committee of Public Safety, and, knowing the sanguinary nature of that tribunal, both instantly fled toward the frontiers. In spite of the eager pursuit which was commenced, they both escaped into the Belgian Netherlands, then in the possession of Austria. The Austrian authorities invited

him to enter their service, but, honorably refusing to take up arms against his country, he retired into private life, going as a traveller to Aix-la-Chapelle and Coblenz toward Switzerland, having at the same time but slender funds, and being hourly beset with dangers. Adelaide, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, fled into the country with her preceptress, Madame de Genlis, met her brother at Schaffhausen, and accompanied him to Zurich. The younger sons of the Duke of Orleans were, after a confinement of three years, liberated on a promise of proceeding to the United States.

On his arrival in the town of Zurich, the Duke de Chartres found the French emigrants unfavorably disposed towards the house of Orleans, and the magistrates of the canton dreaded to afford refuge to the fugitives, fearing the vengeance of France. Quitting, therefore, as quietly as possible, the town of Zurich, they proceeded to Zug, where they hired a small house. Being quickly discovered, they obtained, by the intercession of M. de Montesquieu, admission into the convent of St. Claire, near Baumgarten. The Duke de Chartres proceeded through the different countries of Europe, by no means well provided with means, and mainly indebted to his own tact and abilities for the means of subsistence.

After visiting Basle, where he sold his horses, he proceeded through Switzerland, accompanied by his attached servant Baudoin. The means of the unhappy traveller daily decreased, and it was literally a question whether the young Duke should labor for his daily bread, when a letter from M. de Montesquieu informed him that he had procured for him the situation of teacher in the Academy of Reichenau—a village in the south-eastern portion of Switzerland. Travelling to that locality he was examined as to his proficiency, and ultimately appointed, although less than twenty years of age. He here assumed the name of Chambaud Latour, and here, for the first time, he learned the fate of his father.

In consequence of some agitation in the Grisons, Mademoiselle d'Orleans quitted her retreat at Baumgarten, and retired to the protection of her aunt, the Princess of Conti, in Hungary. At the same time de Montesquieu offered the Duke de Chartres an asylum in his own house at Baumgarten, where he remained under the name of Corby, until the end of 1794, when, in consequence of his retreat being discovered, he quitted the place.

The fugitive now attempted to go to America, and, resolving to embark at Hamburg, he arrived in that city in the beginning of 1795. In consequence of his funds failing him, he abandoned his project. Being provided with a letter of credit on a banker at Copenhagen, he travelled on foot through Norway and Sweden, reaching the North Cape in August, 1795. Here he remained for a short time, returning to Tornea, going thence to Abo and traversing Finland, but avoiding Russia from a fear of the Empress Catherine. After completing his travels through Norway and Sweden, and having been recognized at Stockholm, he left, travelling under an assumed name.

Negotiations were now opened on the part of the Directory, who had in vain attempted to discover the place of the young Prince's exile, to in-

duce him to go to the United States, promising, in the event of his compliance, that the condition of the Duchess d'Orleans should be ameliorated, and that his younger brothers should be permitted to join him. Through the agency of M. Westford, of Hamburg, this letter was conveyed to the Duke, who at once accepted the terms offered, and sailed from the mouth of the Elbe in the American, taking with him his servant Baudoin. He departed on the 24th of September, 1797, and arrived in Philadelphia after a passage of twenty-seven days.

In November following the young Prince was joined by his two brothers, after a stormy passage from Marseilles, and the three brothers remained at Philadelphia during the winter. They afterwards visited Mount Vernon, where they became intimate with Gen. Washington, and they soon afterwards travelled through the western country, and after a long and fatiguing journey returned to Philadelphia; proceeding afterwards to New-Orleans, and subsequently by an English ship to Havana. The disrespect of the Spanish authorities soon compelled them to depart, and they proceeded to the Bahama Islands, where they were treated with much kindness by the Duke of Kent, who, however, did not feel authorized to give them a passage to England in a British frigate. They accordingly embarked for New-York, and thence sailed to England in a private vessel, arriving at Falmouth in February, 1800. After proceeding to London they took up their residence at Twickenham, where for some time they enjoyed comparative quiet, being treated with distinction by all classes of society. Here, however, their tranquillity was not undisturbed; for, hearing that the Duchess d'Orleans was detained in Spain, they solicited and obtained from the English Government permission to travel to Minorca in an English frigate. The disturbed state of Spain at that time prevented the accomplishment of their object, and after a harassing journey the three brothers returned to Twickenham. Their time was now principally passed in study, and no event of any importance disturbed their retreat until the death of the Duke de Montpensier, on the 18th of May, 1807. The Prince was interred in Westminster Abbey. The health of the Count Beaujolais soon afterwards began to decline in the same manner as that of his brother. He was ordered to visit a warmer climate, and accordingly proceeded to Malta, where he died in 1808. He was buried in the Church of St. John de Valletta.

The Duke of Orleans now quitted Malta, and went to Messina, in Sicily, accepting an invitation from King Ferdinand. During his residence at Palermo he gained the affections of the Princess Amelia, and, with the consent of the King and the Duchess of Orleans, he was married to her in 1809. No event of any material importance marked the life of the young couple until the year 1814, when it was announced in Palermo that Napoleon had abdicated the throne, and that the restoration of the Bourbon family was about to take place. The Duke sailed immediately, and arrived in Paris on the 18th of May, where, in a short time, he was in the enjoyment of the honors to which he was so well entitled. The return of Napoleon, in 1815, soon disturbed his tranquillity; and having sent

his family to England, he proceeded, in obedience to the command of Louis XVIII., to take the command of the army of the north. He remained in this situation until the 24th of March, 1815, when he resigned his command to the Duke of Treviso, and retired to Twickenham. On the return of Louis, after the hundred days—in obedience to the ordinance issued, requiring all the Princes of the blood to take their seats in the Chamber of Peers—the Duke returned to France, in 1815; and, by his liberal sentiments, rendered himself so little agreeable to the Administration that he returned to England, where he remained until 1827. In that year he returned to France, where he remained in private life until the Revolution of 1830.

It is needless now to detail the events of this terrible period, which terminated in the placing of Louis Philippe on the throne of France, and the subsequent history of his reign. These are so well known and so fresh in the minds of the public as to need no recapitulation.

The body was deposited in the leaden coffin to contain the remains. The whole of the family, with the Abbe Guille, &c., were present, and the coffin was hermetically sealed. This coffin was placed in one covered with crimson satin. There appears to be some doubt as to the place of interment, but it is still thought St. George's Cathedral, in anticipation of its ultimate destination, being in the royal vault at Paris.

PEACE CONGRESS.—This assemblage commenced business at Frankfort, on Thursday, August 22d. The majority of the members were English and Americans. French and German representatives of the cause were also present. Among those attending the meeting were Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith, Mr. Cobden, M. P., Emile Girardin, and George Copway, the Ojibway Chief, all of whom addressed the meeting in favor of universal peace. General Haynau was present during part of the sitting. Resolutions were agreed to condemnatory of the practice of war, in favor of deciding international disputes by arbitration, urging the necessity of national disarmament, disapproving of loans for defraying war expenses, declaring the principle of non-intervention and the sole right of every State to regulate its own affairs, and recommending the convocation of a Congress of representatives of various States, with a view to the formation of a code of international law.

A resolution was also carried against duelling, or "private war." Emile Girardin, who, in a duel arising from political rivalry, had killed his antagonist, spoke in condemnation of this practice. The next meeting of the Association is to be in London, a year hence.

SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH.—This great achievement of science, the establishment of a communication by electric telegraph between France and England, has at length

been successfully accomplished. Thirty miles of wire, encased in a strong coating of gutta percha, and buried in the bottom of the channel by means of leaden weights, have been laid between Dover and the continent. The wire was one tenth of an inch in thickness, and its weight was five tons. It was coiled in close folds, around a drum between the paddle wheels of a steamer. The distance between Dover and the nearest point on the French coast is twenty-one miles, so that nine miles were allowed for the slackening of the wire. The vessel moved ahead slowly, and as the wire was paid out the men, at every sixteenth of a mile, were busily engaged in riveting on to the wire square leaden clamps or weights of iron, 14 to 24 pounds, which had the effect of sinking the wire in the bottom of the sea, which on the English coast commences at a depth of 30 feet, and goes on varying from that to 100 and 180 feet, which latter, or thirty fathoms, is the greatest depth. The whole of the casting out and sinking was accomplished with great precision and success. The only conjectured difficulties on the route was at a point in mid-channel called the Ridge, between which and another inequality called the Varne, both well known and dreaded by navigators, there is a deep submarine valley, surrounded by shifting sands, the one being 17 miles in length and the other 12; and in their vortex, not unlike the voracious one of the Goodwin Sands, ships encounter danger, lose their anchors, and drift, and strolling nets of fishermen are frequently lost. Over this, however, the wire was successfully submerged below the reach, it is believed, of either ships' anchors, sea animals, or fishing nets. After a week's successful operation, a breakage was found to have taken place, from the cessation of telegraphic communication. By raising the wire at intervals, it was found that it had been cut where it entered into a leaden conductor, which ran out two hundred yards from the French shore, for the sake of protecting the wire from the surf. The leaden tube proved of too soft a texture to withstand the oscillation of the sea, and had become detached from the wire, leaving it exposed to the action of the waves upon this rough coast. For the present leaden tube, a tube of iron is to be substituted, the present apparatus being too fragile to be permanently answerable. The wire is to be removed to a point nearer Calais, where, from soundings, it has been ascertained there are no rocks, and where the contour of the coast is favorable. The experiment, so far as it has gone, is perfectly successful, proving the possibility of the gutta percha wire resisting the action of the salt water, of the fact of

its being a perfect water-proof insulator, and that the weights on the wire are sufficient to prevent its being drifted away by the currents. It is intended to keep in readiness twenty or thirty lines of wire, so as to have a constant reserve in the event of an accident.

ANOTHER REPULSE OF THE DANES.—Advices from Hamburg state that on the 12th the Holstein army made a forward movement with the intention of attacking the fortified bridge across the Schlye at Missunde. The Danes were driven from their unfortified positions at Reckendorff and other points into their intrenchments. They cannonaded the Holsteiners for about an hour, but without effect, when firing ceased, and they began to retire. The Danes afterwards replaced the bridge which they had previously removed, and crossed over with the intention of harassing the retreat of the Holsteiners, but found them so strong as to render it unadvisable to press them closely. General Willisen took possession of Reckendorff and established his head-quarters at that town in the afternoon, but was subsequently forced to retire, owing to the near proximity of the Danish ships. The army bivouacked at night at points somewhat in advance of their previous position, and on the following day the Danes still declined to give them battle. They re-occupied the positions which they held previous to the advance, and up to the 14th, no further movement has been made. The Holsteiners lost about 130, and the Danes about 170 men. In General Willisen's proclamation he says: "We have offered them battle in the open field, under the most favorable circumstances for them. We have destroyed all their field works on the east by Rekerford, Holm and Hornmolfeldt, and their camp at Kackendorff, and thus proved that they are not so fully masters of Schleswig as they give themselves out to be."

ENGLISH JEWS.—The admission of Baron Rothschild into the House of Commons has been affirmed by a large majority. The oaths of supremacy and allegiance were taken by him in the Jewish faith, agreeably with a resolution of the House. But in taking the oath of abjuration, on coming to the words, "upon the true faith of a Christian," he refused to repeat them, considering them not binding on his conscience. Admission as a member was consequently refused him. Lord John Russell has since brought forward the two following resolutions:

"1. That the Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild is not entitled to vote in this House (Parliament) or to sit in this House, during any debate, until he

shall take the oath of abjuration in the form prescribed by law.

"2. That this House will, at the earliest opportunity in the next Session of Parliament, take into its serious consideration the form of the oath of abjuration, with a view to relieve her Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion."

RUSSIA.—The war in the Caucasus still continues. By the last accounts, the Russian troops had suffered a disastrous defeat by the Circassians. Protected by distance and mountain fastnesses, and their indomitable love of freedom, this fine people struggle with more success than the unfortunate Hungarians against the encroachments of despotism.

All the troops cantoned in the southern provinces of Russia have received orders to be collected into one army, for the purpose of being reviewed previous to the commencement of winter, and it is positively announced that the Emperor and his three eldest sons will come to Kiew, to Odessa, to Sebastopol, and to Bessarabia. The agents of the government spread this report for the purpose of exciting the national and religious enthusiasm of the people. *At no former period has Russia made such formidable military preparations as she is making at the present moment.* The government gives it to be understood that it is preparing for a *guerre sainte* in favor of Slavism and the orthodox religion. Notwithstanding all this, the Emperor is far from being satisfied. His sons, the state of France and of Poland disquiet him. It is said that he regards with great apprehension the indolence of his eldest son and the ambition of his second, and he contemplates with horror the revolutionary spirit prevalent in Poland.

PAY OF ENGLISH OFFICIALS.—The Committee appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the salaries of public functionaries, recommend a reduction of the salaries of all official servants holding their appointments at the pleasure of the Crown, of judicial officers or judges of all ranks from the Lord Chancellor downwards, and in the diplomatic service. The Ministerial salaries the Committee bears lightly on, considering them not extravagantly paid for the duties demanded of them. They propose no change in the salaries of the Premier, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the three Secretaries of State, and the first Lord of the Admiralty; but in those of the junior Lords of the Treasury and of the Admiralty—merely ornamental offices—they recommend reduction. They also would abolish the office of Lord Privy Seal. In the judicial department, the Committee show greater severity,

and propose to reduce the income of the Lord Chancellor by forty per cent., and the other judges in proportion. In the diplomatic service they recommend to change the present embassies with France and Turkey into first class missions; and in place of the various missions now sent to the petty sovereignties of the Germanic Confederation, to substitute a single mission at some central point. Generally, they consider that no diplomatic salary should exceed £5,000 per annum, exclusive of a residence. They also propose that the salaries of the whole diplomatic service should be revised with reference to this *maximum*, and the relative importance of the various missions.

SARDINIA AND THE HOLY SEE.—The Church has been taking a step in the kingdom of Sardinia, reminding us more of its palmy days in the middle ages, than of the temporal feebleness to which the nineteenth century has brought it. A law had been passed by the Legislature of Sardinia, abolishing the special privileges of the clergy in that country, and putting their civil rights on a level with those of other citizens. The priesthood was of course highly scandalized and indignant at such a measure. The Count of Santa Rosa, one of the offending ministry, being afterwards on his death-bed, and desiring to receive the last rites of his faith, was denied these privileges by the Bishop Franzoni, unless he would publicly renounce and disapprove of the obnoxious law. This he unqualifiedly refused, and was suffered in consequence to expire without the benefit of extreme unction. The ordinary burial rites were also refused by the prelate.

This outrage excited the greatest indignation among the people, and at last the popular impulse proceeded to such a height that the military force was employed to protect the persons and dwellings of the priests. The Government immediately took vigorous steps in punishment of this despotic act of the bishop. The Convent of the friars, who had been the instruments of Franzoni, and its income of 32,000*l.*, were sequestered, and the fathers themselves forced to give place to secular priests. Papers were seized, among which were some compromising Franzoni as a conspirator against the Government, and a criminal action is to be instituted against him, independently of any religious question. A Council of Cardinals was held at Rome thereupon, and violent retaliatory measures were proposed against Sardinia. Excommunication of the King was threatened,—his subjects were to be absolved from their oath of allegiance, and the kingdom laid under an interdict.

The French Government has since offered mediation between the two powers.

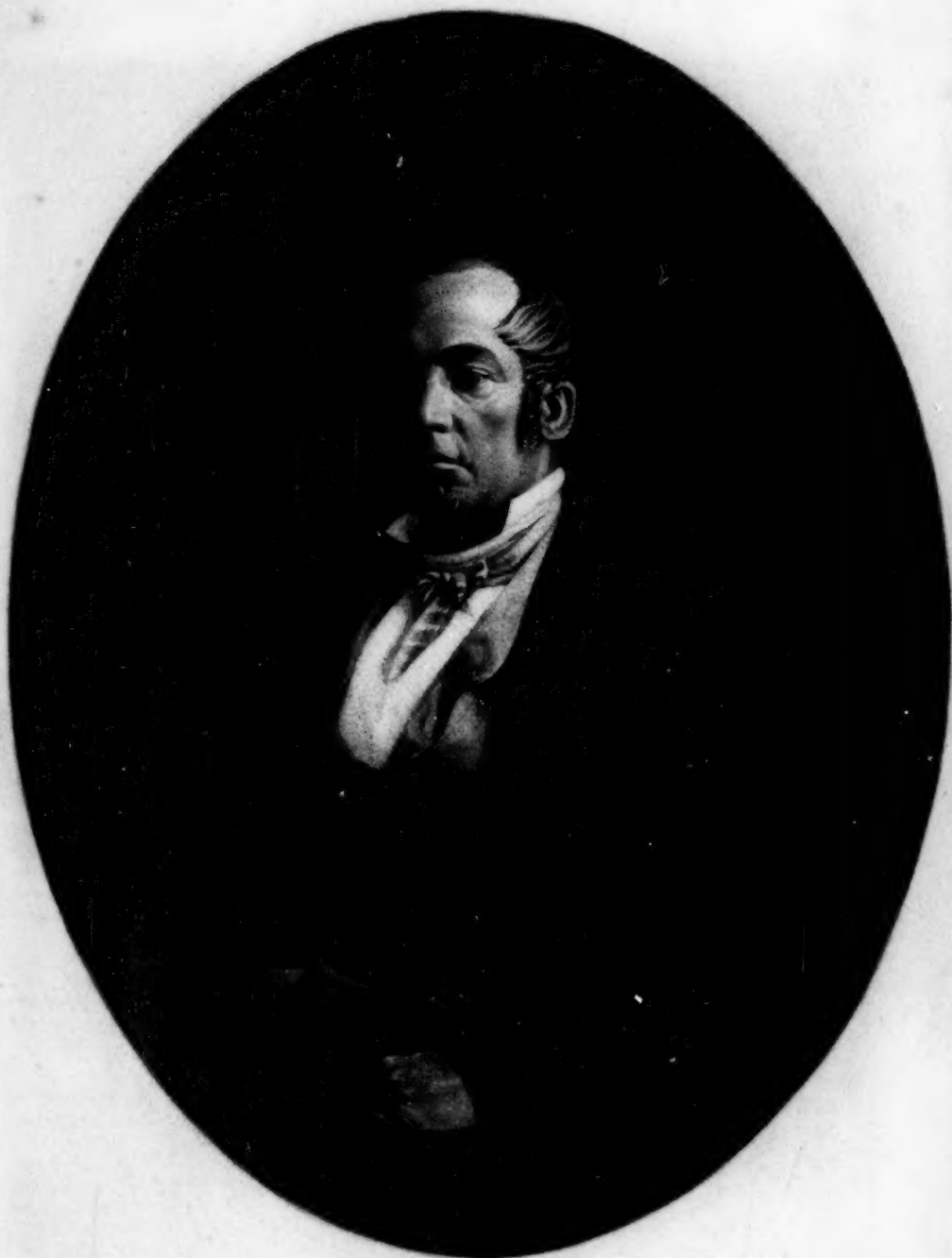
SUBLIME PORTE.—Amin Bey, the first Turkish ambassador to this country, arrived at New-York on the morning of the 13th of September, in the U. S. store-ship *Erie*, from Constantinople. The following day he was waited upon by the Mayor, and tendered the hospitalities of the city.

M. de Lamartine has left France to take possession of his property near Smyrna, given to him by the Sultan. His estate is described as of great fertility; and with slight outlay, capable of being rendered extremely valuable. It contains within its limits a number of villages, and a fall of water sixty or eighty feet high. The soil is a rich alluvium.

LOUIS NAPOLEON.—The French President's tour through France has thus far been far from auspicious. In some districts he has been met with a show of enthusiasm, but in others his reception has been cold, and in many places even attended with insult. At Besancon he was jostled in a ball-room, while the officers of his staff were compelled to draw their swords in his defence, and the room to be cleared at the point of the bayonet. In his progress through the provinces he was sometimes greeted with cries of "Vive Napoleon," but oftener with "Vive la Republique." All arts were resorted to for gaining popularity. Money was profusely distributed. The ribbon of the Legion of Honor was scattered right and left. Five hundred hacked and tottering survivors of the veterans of the empire were paraded. But it produced little effect.

How different is all this from the respect that even an unpopular first magistrate would meet with on this side of the Atlantic! In France, when the deference exacted by authority is refused, there is no bulwark to supply its place; while in the United States the individual is always merged in respect for the people from whom the authority springs.

A great naval review took place at Cherbourg, where President Bonaparte reviewed the French fleet. The British yacht clubs were present with thirty yachts, and executed some beautiful manœuvres to the delight of the French. The finest fleet ever sent to sea by France was present on the occasion. About 50,000 persons assembled to witness the sights. The President visited all the ships and the public works, and was received at each place with a salute of artillery. On his departure from the scene, two thousand pieces of cannon were fired simultaneously.



F. M. Whippley Mezz.

Caleb B. Smith

OF INDIANA.

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